Dean G. Larson

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OF THE

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Illinois State Historical Society

FOR THE YEAR 1923

Twenty-fourth annual Meeting of the Society, Springfield, Illinois May, 22-23, 1923

Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library

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OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

President.

Dr. Otto L. Schmidt.....Chicago

Vice Presidents.

George A. Lawrence.....Galesburg
L. Y. Sherman.....Springfield
Richard Yates.....Springfield
Ensley Moore,.....Jacksonville
Charles L. Capen.....Bloomington

Directors.

Edmund J. James.....University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
E. B. Greene, University of Illinois.....Urbana-Champaign
Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber.....Springfield
Charles H. Rammelkamp, Illinois College.....Jacksonville
George W. Smith, Southern Illinois State Normal University.....
.....Carbondale
Richard V. Carpenter.....Belvidere
Edward C. Page, Northern Illinois State Normal School.....DeKalb
Andrew Russel.....Jacksonville
Walter Colyer.....Albion
James A. James, Northwestern University.....Evanston
H. W. Clendenin.....Springfield
John H. Hauberg.....Rock Island
Orrin N. Carter.....Evanston
Stuart Brown.....Springfield
Rev. Ira W. Allen.....LaGrange

Secretary and Treasurer.

Jessie Palmer Weber.....Springfield

Assistant Secretary.

Georgia L. Osborne.....Springfield

Honorary Vice Presidents.

The Presidents of Local Historical Societies.

EDITORIAL NOTE.

Following the practice of the Publication Committee in previous years, this volume includes, besides the official proceedings and the papers read at the last annual meeting, some essays and other matter contributed during the year. It is hoped that these "contributions to State History" may, in larger measure as the years go on, deserve their title, and form an increasingly valuable part of the Society's transactions. The contributions are intended to include the following kinds of material:

1. Hitherto unpublished letters and other documentary material. This part of the volume should supplement the more formal and extensive publication of official records in the Illinois Historical collections, which are published by the trustees of the State Historical Library.

2. Papers of a reminiscent character. These should be selected with great care, for memories and reminiscences are at their best an uncertain basis for historical knowledge.

3. Historical essays or brief monographs, based upon the sources and containing genuine contributions to knowledge. Such papers should be accompanied by foot-notes indicating with precision the authorities upon which the papers are based. The use of new and original material and the care with which the authorities are cited, will be one of the main factors in determining the selection of papers for publication.

4. Bibliographies.

5. Occasional reprints of books, pamphlets or parts of books now out of print and not easily accessible.

Circular letters have been sent out from time to time urging the members of the Society to contribute such historical material, and appeals for it have been issued in the pages of the *Journal*. The committee desires to repeat and emphasize these requests.

It is the desire of the committee that this annual publication of the Society supplement, rather than parallel or rival, the distinctly official publications of the *State Historical Library*. In historical research, as in so many other fields, the best results are likely to be achieved through the cooperation of private initiative with public authority. It was to promote such cooperation and mutual undertaking that this Society was organized. Teachers of history, whether in schools or colleges, are especially urged to do their part in bringing to this publication the best results of local research and historical scholarship.

In conclusion it should be said that the views expressed in the various papers are those of their respective authors and not necessarily those of the committee. Nevertheless, the committee will be glad to receive such corrections of fact or such general criticism as may appear to be deserved.

CONSTITUTION OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ARTICLE I—NAME AND OBJECTS.

SECTION 1. The name of this Society shall be the ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

SEC. 2. The objects for which it is formed is to excite and stimulate a general interest in the history of Illinois; to encourage historical research and investigation and secure its promulgation; to collect and preserve all forms of data in any way bearing upon the history of Illinois and its peoples.

ARTICLE II—OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY—THEIR ELECTION AND DUTIES.

SECTION 1. The management of the affairs of this Society shall be vested in a board of fifteen directors, of which Board the President of the Society shall be *ex-officio* a member.

SEC. 2. There shall be a President and as many Vice Presidents, not less than three, as the Society may determine at the annual meetings. The Board of Directors, five of whom shall constitute a quorum, shall elect its own presiding officer, a secretary and treasurer, and shall have power to appoint from time to time such officers, agents and committees as they may deem advisable, and to remove the same at pleasure.

SEC. 3. The Directors shall be elected at the annual meetings and the mode of election shall be by ballot, unless by a vote of a majority of members present and entitled to vote, some other method may be adopted.

SEC. 4. It shall be the duty of the Board of Directors diligently to promote the objects for which this Society has been formed and to this end they shall have power:

(1) To search out and preserve in permanent form for the use of the people of the State of Illinois, facts and data in the history of the State and of each county thereof, including the pre-historic periods and the history of the aboriginal inhabitants together, with biographies of distinguished persons who have rendered services to the people of the State.

(2) To accumulate and preserve for like use, books, pamphlets, newspapers and documents bearing upon the foregoing topics.

(3) To publish from time to time for like uses its own transactions as well as such facts and documents bearing upon its objects as it may secure.

(4) To accumulate for like use such articles of historic interest as may bear upon the history of persons and places within the State.

(5) To receive by gift, grant, devise, bequest or purchase books, prints, paintings, manuscripts, libraries, museums, moneys and other property, real or personal in aid of the above objects.

(6) They shall have general charge and control under the direction of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, of all property so received and hold the same for the uses aforesaid in accordance with an Act of the Legislature approved May 16, 1903, entitled "An Act to add a new section to an Act entitled, 'An Act to establish the Illinois State Historical Library and to provide for its care and maintenance, and to make appropriations therefor,'" approved May 25, 1889, and in force July 1, 1889; they shall make and approve all contracts, audit all accounts and order their payment, and in general see to the carrying out of the Orders of the Society. They may adopt by-laws not inconsistent with this Constitution, for the management of the affairs of the Society; they shall fix the time and places for their meetings; keep a record of their proceedings, and make report to the Society at its annual meeting.

Sec. 5. Vacancies in the Board of Directors may be filled by election by the remaining members, the persons so elected to continue in office until the next annual meeting.

Sec. 6. The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society, and in case of his absence or inability to act, one of the Vice Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in case neither President nor Vice President shall be in attendance, the Society may choose a President *pro tempore*.

Sec. 7. The officers shall perform the duties usually devolving upon such offices, and such others as may from time to time be prescribed by the Society or the Board of Directors. The Treasurer shall keep a strict account of all receipts and expenditures and pay out money from the treasury only as directed by the Board of Directors; he shall submit an annual report of the finances of the Society and such other matters as may be committed to his custody to the Board of Directors within such time prior to the annual meeting as they shall direct, and after auditing the same the said Board shall submit said report to the Society at its annual meeting.

ARTICLE III—MEMBERSHIP.

Section 1. The membership of this Society shall consist of five classes to-wit: Active, Life, Affiliated, Corresponding and Honorary.

Sec. 2. Any person may become an active member of this Society upon payment of such initiation fee not less than one dollar, as shall from time to time be prescribed by the Board of Directors.

Sec. 3. Any person entitled to be an active member may upon payment of twenty-five dollars be admitted as a life member with all the privileges of an active member and shall thereafter be exempt from annual dues.

Sec. 4. County and other historical societies, and other societies engaged in historical or archeological research or in the preservation

of the knowledge of historic events, may, upon the recommendation of the Board of Directors, be admitted as affiliated members of this Society upon the same terms as to the payment of initiation fees and annual dues as active and life members. Every society so admitted shall be entitled to one duly accredited representative at each meeting of the Society who shall during the period of his appointment be entitled as such representative to all the privileges of an active member except that of being elected to office; but nothing herein shall prevent such representative becoming an active or life member upon like conditions as other persons.

Sec. 5. Persons not active nor life members but who are willing to lend their assistance and encouragement to the promotion of the objects of this Society, may, upon recommendation of the Board of Directors, be admitted as corresponding members.

Sec. 6. Honorary membership may be conferred at any meeting of the Society upon the recommendation of the Board of Directors upon persons who have distinguished themselves by eminent services or contributions to the cause of history.

Sec. 7. Honorary and corresponding members shall have the privilege of attending and participating in the meetings of the Society.

ARTICLE IV—MEETINGS AND QUORUM.

Section 1. There shall be an annual meeting of this Society for the election of officers, the hearing of reports, addresses and historical papers and the transaction of business at such time and place in the month of May in each year as may be designated by the Board of Directors, for which meeting it shall be the duty of said Board to prepare and publish a suitable program, and procure the services of persons well versed in history to deliver addresses or read essays upon subjects germane to the objects of this organization.

Sec. 2. Special meetings of the Society may be called by the Board of Directors. Special meetings of the Board of Directors may be called by the President or any two members of the Board.

Sec. 3. At any meeting of the Society the attendance of ten members entitled to vote shall be necessary to a quorum.

ARTICLE V—AMENDMENTS.

Section 1. The Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members present and entitled to vote, at any annual meeting; *Provided* that the proposed amendment shall have first been submitted to the Board of Directors, and at least thirty days prior to such annual meeting notice of proposed action upon the same, sent by the Secretary to all the members of the Society.

AN APPEAL TO THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC.

OBJECTS OF COLLECTION DESIRED BY THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY AND SOCIETY.

(Members please read this circular letter.)

Books and pamphlets on American history, biography, and genealogy, particularly those relating to the West; works on Indian tribes, and American archaeology and ethnology; reports of societies and institutions of every kind, educational, economic, social, political, co-operative, fraternal, statistical, industrial, charitable; scientific publications of states or societies; books or pamphlets relating to all wars in which Illinois has taken part, especially the collection of material relating to the late great world war, and the wars with the Indians; privately printed works; newspapers; maps and charts; engravings; photographs; autographs; coins; antiquities; encyclopedias, dictionaries, and bibliographical works. Especially do we desire—

EVERYTHING RELATING TO ILLINOIS.

1. Every book or pamphlet on any subject relating to Illinois, or any part of it; also every book or pamphlet written by an Illinois citizen, whether published in Illinois or elsewhere; materials for Illinois history; old letters, journals.

2. Manuscripts; narratives of the pioneers of Illinois; original papers on the early history and settlement of the territory; adventures and conflicts during the early settlement, the Indian troubles, or the great rebellion, or other wars; biographies of the pioneers; prominent citizens and public men of every county, either living or deceased, together with their portraits and autographs; a sketch of the settlements of every township, village and neighborhood in the State, with the names of the first settlers. We solicit articles on every subject connected with Illinois history.

3. City ordinances, proceedings of mayor and council; reports of committees of council; pamphlets or papers of any kind printed by authority of the city; reports of boards of trade and commercial associations; maps of cities and plats of town sites or of additions thereto.

4. Pamphlets of all kinds; annual reports of societies; sermons or addresses delivered in the State; minutes of church conventions, synods, or other ecclesiastical bodies of Illinois; political addresses; railroad reports; all such, whether in manuscript or published in pamphlet or newspaper.

5. Catalogues and reports of colleges and other institutions of learning; annual or other reports of school boards, school superintendents and school committees; educational pamphlets, programs and papers of every kind, no matter how small or apparently unimportant.

6. Copies of the earlier laws, journals and reports of our territorial and State Legislatures; earlier Governors' messages and reports of State Officers; reports of State charitable and other State institutions.

7. Files of Illinois newspapers and magazines, especially complete volumes of past years, or single numbers even. Publishers are earnestly requested to contribute their publications regularly, all of which will be carefully preserved and bound.

8. Maps of the State, or of counties or townships, of any date; views and engravings of buildings or historic places; drawings or photographs of scenery, paintings, portraits, etc., connected with Illinois history.

9. Curiosities of all kinds; coins, medals, paintings; portraits, engravings; statuary; war relics; autograph letters of distinguished persons, etc.

10. Facts illustrative of our Indian tribes—their history, characteristics, religion, etc., sketches of prominent chiefs, orators and warriors, together with contributions of Indian weapons, costumes, ornaments, curiosities and implements; also stone axes, spears, arrow heads, pottery, or other relics.

In brief, everything that, by the most liberal construction, can illustrate the history of Illinois, its early settlement, its progress, or present condition. All will be of interest to succeeding generations. Contributions will be credited to the donors in the published reports of the Library and Society, and will be carefully preserved in the Historical Library as the property of the State, for the use and benefit of the people of all time.

Members of the Society are urged to help in the preservation of all historical material relating to the part taken by Illinois in the World War. Now is the time for this work.

Communications or gifts may be addressed to the Librarian and Secretary.

(Mrs.) Jessie Palmer Weber.

PART I

Record of Official Proceedings

1923

MEETING OF THE DIRECTORS OF THE SOCIETY.

The Board of Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society met in the office of the Secretary of the Society Wednesday, May 23, 1923, at 9:30 a. m. There were present, the President of the Society, Dr. O. L. Schmidt, who presided, and Messrs. Colyer, James, G. W. Smith, Clendenin, Hauberg, Allen, Russel, Greene, and Mrs. Weber, the Secretary.

The minutes of the last previous meeting of the Directors were read by the Secretary and were approved.

The annual report of the Secretary was read and approved.

Professor J. A. James expressed appreciation of the report and suggested that its recommendations be followed. He spoke of the excellent work of the Historical Society and said it should have a much greater membership in the State.

The question of a state wide membership campaign was discussed. Professor James said that comparatively few people in Illinois understand the work of the State Historical Society, that hundreds of citizens would be glad to join the Society if the work and objects of it were explained to them. Dr. Schmidt said that the Society has never carried on a campaign for members as the publications are so expensive and the Society is largely supported by the State and that large membership lists, which means sending the expensive publications to the members, might become a very heavy drain on the resources of the Society and require larger appropriations than could be easily secured from the General Assembly.

He explained that the present method is to confer membership upon all applicants who are recommended by persons already members of the Society. That no citizen is refused when he seeks membership, but he must be recommended by a present member. Professor James said he believed that nearly all school teachers and college and university professors in the State would be glad to become members if their attention was called to the matter.

Professor J. A. James spoke of the excellent work of the Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution in regard to the great Cahokia Mound and other historical sites in the State, especially do the D. A. R. deserve commendation for their efforts before the General Assembly in attempting to secure an appropriation for the purchase of the Cahokia group of mounds. He suggested that a letter of thanks be sent to the State D. A. R. and that the Historical Society urge their cooperation and continuance in this good work. Dr. Schmidt said that beyond doubt some of the mounds would eventually become the property of the State.

Mr. Clendenin moved that a survey or list of Indian sites in the State be prepared. There were about fifty Pottowatomie villages and that the sites of most of them can be located. Mr. Clendenin also suggested that in this survey other historical sites be located. He moved that a committee for this purpose be appointed and that Mr. John H. Hauberg, a director of the Society, be the chairman of the committee. If the committee is not able at once to make the survey that it prepare a plan and make recommendations as to how the work be accomplished. Professor George W. Smith seconded this motion and on being put to a vote it was carried.

Professor J. A. James moved that committees be appointed according to the recommendation of the Secretary's report. Mr. Hauberg seconded this motion and it was carried.

Professor George W. Smith suggested that an outline or plan of the work and objects of the State Historical Society be prepared and sent out, especially to the newspapers of the State. Mr. Hauberg seconded the motion, which was carried.

Dr. Schmidt then called the attention of the Directors to the fact that Professor E. B. Greene, one of the founders of the Society, a director of it since it was organized and its first secretary, is about to leave the State of Illinois and the State University to take up historical work in Columbia University. He suggested that some memorial of Professor Greene's services be prepared. Professor J. A. James moved that the Secretary of the Society be instructed to prepare these resolutions. Mr. Clendenin seconded this motion, which was carried.

Dr. Schmidt called the attention of the Directors to the fact that the hour set for the business meeting of the Society had arrived and suggested that if there was no further business especially for the Directors that general business may be taken up in the business meeting of the Society. He therefore asked for a motion to adjourn. Rev. Ira W. Allen spoke of the excellent report made by the Secretary and suggested that it be read at the business meeting. Dr. Schmidt explained that it is the rule that the Secretary's report be read first to the Directors and then in the business meeting.

Mr. Allen then moved that the Board of Directors be adjourned. Mr. Colyer seconded the motion, which was carried, and the meeting of the Directors adjourned.

ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, WEDNESDAY, MAY 23, 1923.

The annual business meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society was called to order in the auditorium of the new Centennial Building at 11 o'clock on Wednesday, May 23, 1923, by the chairman, Doctor Otto L. Schmidt.

The minutes of last year's meeting were read by the Secretary and on motion were accepted and approved.

The chairman then called for the reading of the Secretary's report which was given by the Secretary, Mrs. Weber.

At the conclusion of the reading of the report Dr. Ira W. Allen of LaGrange said: "I move that the report be adopted and its recommendations followed. This, of course, will include some specific actions still to be taken, such as the appointment of committees by yourself, Mr. Chairman; but this report should not be adopted without some appropriate recognition from the Society of its masterly character and of the very admirable services of our Secretary. It seems to me that the proper place for such recognition is here in the full meeting of the Society, though in the directors' meeting I was strongly moved to speak as I am speaking now. I feel that I am expressing the sense of all the directors when I say that I have a strong admiration for the character and usefulness of this report. Further, we realize how much the Society owes to the ability and tact of the gracious lady who serves us as secretary—the distinguished daughter of a distinguished soldier—and we know that her knowledge of the social, literary and political life of Springfield, of which she is a part, has been of the very greatest advantage to the growth and usefulness of the Society. Her successful guidance of the Society's Journal is only one of her faithful labors in our behalf. A grateful expression of the value of her services is due this lady."

Let me say further—and now I address my remarks to Mr. Ensley Moore, Vice President of this Society—that we ought also to recognize the value of the services of our admirable President. The fact that he stands high in his home city and in his profession would not make him a necessarily good president of a historical society. He might be a very able physician and have no interest in history, but he is an influential member and officer of the Chicago Historical Society, giving not only of his time but of his private means to forward historical research. He is thoughtful and able and has a wide acquaintance with historians and those who, though not writers, have history as their chief interest. We are very fortunate that we have a man of his character, ability and standing as our President. I move that in adopting this report the Society also commend the services of

the Secretary, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, and of the President, Doctor Otto L. Schmidt.

Mr. T. C. MacMillan: It is with great pleasure that I here arise to second the motion made by Doctor Allen. Doctor Allen has well said that each of us is under obligations to the Secretary for the work accomplished and the manner in which it has been accomplished has been so finely laid before us that we are able to see at a glance all that has been done. It is with great pleasure that I second the motion of Doctor Allen with reference to Mrs. Weber's report and also with reference to the distinguished service of our President. I do this also with extra pleasure because I do not happen to be an officer of the Society in any way, and therefore, do not feel called upon to pass the boquets. I look upon this year as perhaps in some sense I would not look upon it were I perhaps to live twenty-five years later. Our President reminded us yesterday that, counting from the arrival of the first French explorers in 1673, we may celebrate 250 years of the history of our State. We are also for the first time holding our annual meeting in this beautiful building, our new home.

Mr. Ensley Moore: It is moved and seconded that this motion be adopted. All in favor signify by arising.

Mr. Hauberg: I would like to propose in this meeting that it would be a fine thing to have published in book form material relative to the various forts—Fort Edwards, Fort Armstrong, and others. There is a wealth of this interesting material in Washington such as rosters showing among other things quite a number of men who have become prominent stationed about these forts. Material of this nature can be found in the Department of the Interior, Indian Agents reports giving to Indian traders licenses, etc. I think a volume of this sort would be well worth while and an addition to the volumes that the Society has already published. This is merely a suggestion that as soon as we are able to do so that such a volume be compiled.

A motion was suggested by Mr. MacMillan: Will you pardon me if I suggest that the motion which Mr. Moore just made be prepared by Doctor Allen so as to relieve our secretary of any embarrassment and so that Doctor Allen may embody in the resolutions all that he so well stated and that he be requested to make it so that it may be embodied in the minutes.

Doctor Schmidt: Will Doctor Allen accept?

Doctor Allen signified his willingness to act, and made suggestion that an arrangement be made to have the report of the Secretary at future annual meetings read at the annual Evening Session or at some time when it could be heard by a larger number of persons.

Dr. Schmidt: In regard to Mr. Hauberg's suggestion. A note will be made, of course, in the proceedings of the meeting and then the request will be passed onto the Library Board. They will then take up the matter.

Mrs. Weber's report is then accepted?

Now comes under discussion a number of points. One is the appointment of a committee to investigate and take measures towards the project of the Cahokia Mound provided they are not purchased at this session of the General Assembly. You know the Cahokia Mounds

lie deep in the hearts of all who take an interest in the history of Illinois. There is a bill up this year for their purchase. It may be passed. We hope so but we hear objections as was pointed out in Mrs. Weber's report that we may prepare the ground for the coming session —the session of the 54th General Assembly—in case the bill is not passed at this session.

Then some recognition should be taken of the daughters of Judge Humphrey on account of their gift of briefs in which Lincoln and Palmer were opposed to one another in a law suit. Such a manuscript is unusually valuable.

Then some action should be taken in regard to the death of Mrs. John A. Logan. It may be well if we show our respect for Mrs. Logan by rising and silently standing in reverence to her memory and that a note of this be sent to her daughter who is very much interested in the Society and in the marks of reverence shown to both her father and her mother.

You have heard that Professor Greene is going to leave us. He has been actively associated with the work of this society. He was one of its founders and is now called to a position which affords him greater possibilities for future work. His thoughts and interest of course will always be with this Society and with the Library Board of which he was President. His successor is Professor Laurence M. Larson, the head professor of history now at the Univeristy of Illinois.

Then too we should cooperate with the Lincoln Centennial Association. You know this year's meeting was the first Lincoln Centennial Association held since the death of its originator, Judge J Otis Humphrey. Mrs. Weber called Dr. Schmidt's attention to the fact that observances of Lincoln's birthday have been held since the death of Judge Humphrey but they were not thoroughly satisfactory, in some instances to the Lincoln Centennial Association nor in accord with Judge Humphrey's plans for the birthday observances.

Shall anything be done in regard to the Cahokia Mounds? Please make a motion.

Doctor Ira W. Allen: I move that the chair appoint that committee.

Motion seconded by Mrs. I. G. Miller.

Mr. Ensley Moore: I move that we rise in silent remembrance of Mrs. Arthur Huntington.

Doctor Schmidt Those in favor say aye. Carried.

You may rise in silent remembrance of Mrs. Huntington. The Society then rose and stood in silence for a brief space of time in memory of Mrs. Huntington. Thank you.

Doctor Allen's motion is in order that a committee be appointed by the chair on the Cahokia Mound.

Doctor Rammelkamp: I move that the secretary of the Society express the appreciation of the Historical Society to the Misses Humphrey for the gift of the interesting documents to which the secretary referred. Motion seconded by Mrs. Baxter. Carried.

Doctor Schmidt: I would like to urge that this Society cooperate with the Lincoln Centennial Association. A motion put in form of active cooperation of the Illinois State Historical Society with the

Lincoln Memorial Association of Springfield is in order. Moved by Mr. Hauberg that the Society cooperate with the Lincoln Centennial Association. Seconded by Mr. Smith. Carried.

In regard to Mrs. John A. Logan. Motion was made by Rev. Ira W. Allen that the Society arise in reverence to Mrs. Logan. Seconded and carried.

Doctor Schmidt then asked the members to arise in honor of Mary Cunningham Logan, a distinguished citizen of this State. The Society rose and stood a brief space in reverence to the memory of Mrs. Logan.

The Chair then said the next order of business was the election of officers for the coming year. Will some one make a motion for the appointment of a nominating committee?

Mr. Clendenin moved that a nominating committee be appointed Motion seconded by Mr. Hauberg. Carried.

The nominating committee was appointed composed of Mrs. I. G. Miller, Mrs. Isabel Jamison, Mrs. E. A. Baxter, Mr. H. E. Barker and Dr. C. A. Earle, which withdrew to consider nominations for the coming year.

The Chairman then said: During the withdrawal of the nominating committee we will request Miss Georgia L. Osborne to read the report of the committee on Genealogy of which she is chairman. Miss Osborne then read her report.

Doctor Schmidt: You have the report read, what shall be done with it?

Doctor Rammelkamp moved and the motion was seconded that the report be placed on file. Carried.

Doctor Schmidt: The nominating committee has returned. Mrs. Miller will you please report as chairman?

Mrs. Miller: Ladies and gentlemen: I beg leave to submit the report of the nominating committee. I further beg to have this adopted as read.

Doctor Schmidt: You have heard the report and motion that it be adopted as read? Is there a second? The motion was seconded by Mr. Clendenin. Are there any other nominations?

Mrs. Miller: I will make a motion that those in favor vote aye. Make it a rising vote. Thank you for accepting it.

The persons nominated by the committee on nominations are as follows:

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY

President.

Dr. Otto L. Schmidt.....Chicago

First Vice President.

George A. Lawrence.....Galesburg

Third Vice President.

Richard Yates .....Springfield

Fourth Vice President.

ENSLEY MOORE ..... Jacksonville

Fifth Vice President.

CHARLES L. CAPEN ..... Bloomington

Directors.

EDMUND J. JAMES, University of Illinois ..... Urbana
E. B. GREENE, University of Illinois ..... Urbana
MRS. JESSIE PALMER WEBER ..... Springfield
CHARLES H. RAMELKAMP, *President Illinois College* ..... Jacksonville
GEORGE W. SMITH, Southern Illinois State Normal School. Carbondale
RICHARD V. CARPENTER ..... Belvidere
EDWARD C. PAGE, Northern Illinois State Normal School .... DeKalb
ANDREW RUSSEL ..... Jacksonville
WALTER COLYER ..... Albion
JAMES A. JAMES, Northwestern University ..... Evanston
H. W. CLENDENIN ..... Springfield
JOHN H. HAUBERG ..... Rock Island
ORRIN N. CARTER ..... Evanston
STUART BROWN ..... Springfield
REV. IRA W. ALLEN ..... LaGrange

Secretary-Treasurer.

JESSIE PALMER WEBER ..... Springfield

Assistant Secretary.

GEORGIA L. OSBORNE ..... Springfield

Honorary Vice Presidents.

The Presidents of Local Historical Societies.

Doctor Schmidt: I thank you for the honor. The further proceedings will be reports from historical societies. Is there any special report from local societies to be made. Mr. Hauberg can usually add something of interest.

Mr. Hauberg: I just want to say that the President of our Society Matthew J. McEniry, passed away. He was not on the State rolls. We have been active in a way we have a curator, and he is from time to time receiving gifts of various kinds. We have put some cabinets in our court house. We have historic cabinets in the main lobby and we find the elevator man there reeceives right along worth while relics because of the suggestion which comes from seeing these other donations. People see what we have and they are reminded they have something at home. We receive all sorts of things—books, Indian relics of one kind and another. We print these things in the local paper once in a while. I just want to say we expect to be of assistance to the State Society.

Dr. Schmidt: Are there any other reports. If not I will talk about my home town of Chicago. He then told of a recent publication issued by the Chicago Historical Society called the History of Lake Geneva, which was written by Rev. Paul B. Jenkins, a Presbyterian Minister. He then told of the many interesting papers presented be-

fore the Chicago Historical Society. One on the Browning Diary by Professor Theodore C. Pease another by Professor Cole of the University of Ohio. One by Doctor Zoik who collaborated with a civil engineer, who did the greater part of the work in locating Portage Creek.

Ensley Moore: I want to say I am pleased with the suggestion of Mr. Hauberg regarding the Forts. There are so many things worthy of notice and preservation that ought to be looked into. He then spoke of an uncle of his named Goudy who when he was ten years old made probably the first picture of any railroad bridge in Illinois. It is a childish work and Mr. Moore is going to present it to the Historical Society.

Mrs. Weber, the Secretary of the Society urged all members to be present at the afternoon session, and to be on time, as the address of Prof. M. M. Quaife the first paper on the program will be a significant one. Professor Quaife will speak on the Military Career of Jefferson Davis in the Northwest, when he was serving the United States Government as a young army officer. The address is interesting and valuable historically, and it has the further distinction of being the first formal address delivered in the new Centennial Memorial Building. This in itself is an historical event.

Doctor Schmidt: A motion to adjourn is in order. The Society stands adjourned until its afternoon session.

SECRETARY'S REPORT.

GENTLEMEN: I beg to submit to you my report as Secretary of the Society, for the year ending May 22, 1923.

In the first place allow me to congratulate the Society upon at last holding a meeting in the Centennial Memorial building. This building is so beautiful that it seems out of keeping and out of place to criticize it today when we are rejoicing upon occupying it, but as a working building or workshop it leaves much to be desired. These drawbacks will no doubt be in part corrected so I will not at this time call special attention to them.

We had hoped to be settled in our new quarters before this meeting, but the big task of moving is still ahead of us. By the time our Illinois Day meeting, December 3d of this year is celebrated we will probably be comfortably settled and we will be in a position to exhibit some of the treasures of the Library with which members of the Society are all too unfamiliar.

The Historical Society can report another year of steady progress and growth in importance and influence. Each year in my reports as Secretary and in my biennial reports as Librarian it seems to me that I go over the same ground, say the same things and yet our work is not monotonous, though our purposes and objects in the main do not change because they are of the Eternal Verities. Our path though direct is broad. We search for historical material, we file and preserve it, we publish such as seems suitable, and we search out of records, books and newspapers information for the people, we copy extracts from the said books, records and newspaper files for our patrons, we write hundreds of letters, we attempt to answer thousands of questions, we help with club programs, furnish reference lists for courses of study, and in all ways try to be of practical service not only to people who come to the Library for information but to persons who write to us seeking help and we try to be helpful to other departments of the state's great working machinery.

MEMBERSHIP.

The members of the Historical Society include men and women in all walks of life. It is a large society in point of numbers. We have active, annual members, we have life members who are or should be active members, and we have honorary members. Our total membership list of residents of the State of Illinois is 1,136 members; members residing out of Illinois, 129; these include 20 life members and 16 honorary members. We send publications to 244 Newspapers; Libraries and Historical Societies in the State to which we send our

publications, 432; Libraries and Historical Societies outside the State of Illinois to which we send our publications, 229. These last are State Libraries, State Historical Societies, University and College Libraries, and the libraries of the larger cities. Our publications go to some Libraries in Canada, England and France. We send our publications, also to the County Superintendents of Schools, of which there are 102 in the State. This makes a total regular mailing list of 2,272, and we have constant requests for special numbers of our publications, so our editions of three thousand are very soon exhausted and the publication is listed *out of print.*

Visits of Lincoln Writers.

I have often mentioned to you the fact that nearly all Lincoln students come to the Historical Library. Very few Lincoln books, other than mere eulogies, have been written in the United States in recent years, whose authors have not visited our collection. A few months ago Miss Ida M. Tarbell spent ten days in Springfield, much of the time in this Library. I was much gratified to hear her say that this is the greatest Lincoln collection in the United States. Some collections are richer in original manuscripts than ours, but taking our books, pictures and other illustrative material and our original manuscripts we have a great collection. We have some unique and priceless manuscripts, but we want more. We will buy any that are within our means, we solicit gifts and we will be glad to obtain facsimile reproductions where the original is absolutely unavailable. We want the interest of the members in securing every possible letter, legal paper, picture or other material relating to Abraham Lincoln. This is true also of material relating to Douglas, Grant, Yates, Logan, Trumbull, and many others, and it is true also of pioneer settlers of the State, letters, dairies or books in regard to the founding and growth of Illinois and the West are eagerly sought. I wish it was possible to impress upon the members of the Society and other citizens, particularly the descendants of the first settlers, how much in earnest the Historical Society is in its desire to secure this material and preserve it from destruction, and make it available to the student and historian.

The Rev. Wm. E. Barton of Oak Park, who has addressed this Society, the author of a number of recent Lincoln books, is a frequent visitor and a constant correspondent. Recently former United States Senator Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana, the author of the great historical work, the life of Chief Justice John Marshall, paid the Library a visit. Senator Beveridge hopes to write a life of Lincoln after the plan of his history of John Marshall. His idea is really to write of the development of the United States after the Marshall period and this will bring Lincoln in as the central figure, though Douglas, Seward and many others will receive critical attention. No detail is too small to escape Senator Beveridge's interest. He writes to me almost daily seeking information or explanation. I am but one of the persons to whom he appeals for help. He is a wonderful worker, very agreeable in his manner and is a pleasant and

genial gentleman. He is most appreciative of the assistance which he so freely asks. One cannot help but be enthusiastic in the presence of such an enthusiastic and indefatigable worker and student. Senator Beveridge spent seven years working on his John Marshall. He says the Lincoln is a greater task, but he can obtain much more assistance. This is natural, as the Lincoln period is not so remote and the Lincoln literature and manuscripts vastly greater in extent.

I have so often told you of our Lincoln collection, the manuscripts, the books, in foreign languages, the sermons, the poetical tributes, the caricatures and other pictures, the medals and the music, all of priceless value and great interest. I believe the time will come when there will be a co-ordination of the State's Lincoln Collections. There is much of value at the Lincoln monument and at the Lincoln Home. The collection at the Home is the private property of Mrs. Mary Edwards Brown, the custodian. At the last session of the General Assembly an appropriation was made for the purchase and removal of the frame dwelling just north of the Lincoln Home. The bill for this purchase was introduced in the House of Representatives by the Hon. Adelbert Roberts, a colored member from Chicago, who introduced it in response to the plea for the protection of the Lincoln Home from fire, made by the Historical Society at its session of 1921. There has been some delay in the matter as the owners of the property and the state officials in charge could not agree as to price. This matter has at last been arranged satisfactorily with the help and friendly offices of the Springfield Chamber of Commerce, and other citizens. Three thousand dollars has been raised by private subscription and this sum has been added to the fund appropriated by the State. This meets the price asked by the owners, and the house in question will soon be demolished and removed and the seventy feet of ground will be improved and made a part of the grounds of the Lincoln Home. A bill has just been introduced in the General Assembly the object of which is to create a Commission whose duty it will be to plan for the protection of the Lincoln Home by building over it a brick or stone fireproof building something after the manner in which the Lincoln Log Cabin, the birthplace of Mr. Lincoln near Hodgenville, Kentucky, is housed within the walls of a marble temple. I do not know what prospect this bill has of becoming a law, but too much care cannot be given to the preservation of the Home, though it is simple and beautiful as it stands. The plan proposed would require more land than the State now owns to give it a fitting setting.

The Lincoln Centennial Association.

At the time of the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Mr. Lincoln, February 12, 1909, an association was formed in Springfield, though the members were by no means all residents of this city, with the plan of conducting suitable observances of Mr. Lincoln's birthday each year and encouraging the study of his work and the meaning of his life and his services to mankind. The Centennial celebration was most brilliant and worthy. The leading

spirits of this association were Federal Judge J Otis Humphrey, a member of the State Historical Society, and Mr. John W. Bunn of this city. After the death of these two men, it became difficult to arrange worthy birthday observances, as mere mass meetings and eulogies while a necessary part of the plan were not vital parts of it. An attempt is being made to raise a sum of money as an endowment; to enlarge the scope of the work of the Association and to explain it to the people. The plan of work is comprehensive, but too long to be presented in full at this time. With your permission I will incorporate the plan in this report and it will be printed as a part of it in the Transactions of the Society.

On February 12 of this year a dinner was given by the Lincoln Centennial Association at which former Governor Frank O. Lowden presided. I was much gratified, as were other members of the Society, to hear Governor Lowden say that the meeting which made the deepest impression on him during his four years' residence in Springfield was a meeting of the State Historical Society. The dinner last Lincoln's birthday was in the nature of a meeting to present these plans to members of the Association. Its prospects are excellent. The Lincoln Centennial Association asks the cooperation of the Illinois State Historical Society as an organization and of its members as individuals. Perhaps the adoption of a resolution commending the work of the Lincoln Centennial Association will commend itself to the Historical Society.

Report of Committee on Recommendations of the Lincoln Centennial Association.

The committee calls your attention to the fact that the recommendations which it makes are tentative, and are presented for the consideration of the Association as suggestive of some projects or lines of work which it may desire to undertake. It is difficult to keep sustained interest in an organization which has practically but one day's work in the year.

It is suggested that the Association continue under its present name, The Lincoln Centennial Association, but that there may be some additional or modified words in the title, giving the reason for the founding of the Association in addition to the obvious one expressed in its name. These words with the names of the founders should appear on the stationery and announcements of the Association, if no other use is made of them.

Of the fifteen men who in 1909 incorporated this Association eight have passed away. The seven living incorporators are: Hon. Albert J. Hopkins, Aurora; Hon. Joseph G. Cannon, Danville; Hon. Richard Yates, Springfield; Mr. Melville E. Stone, New York City; Hon. Charles S. Deneen, Chicago; Hon. John P. Hand, now an invalid living at Long Beach, California; the Hon. Ben F. Caldwell, Chatham.* Of the first board of five directors, Charles S. Deneen, alone survives. Of the first officers, there remains, the Secretary, Mr. Philip Barton Warren, and the Treasurer, Mr. J. H. Holbrook. The President and

*Since this report was written Senator A. J. Hopkins and Judge John P. Hand have died.

Vice President, Judge J Otis Humphrey and Mr. John W. Bunn, have passed away.

Of the large executive committee of twenty-six members, eighteen are still living. They are: Messrs. Charles S. Deneen, E. A. Hall, Logan Hay, William B. Jess, Edward D. Keys, George Pasfield, Jr., Edward W. Payne, Thomas Rees, George Reisch, Nicholas Roberts, Lewis C. Taylor, James R. B. VanCleve, Philip B. Warren, Howard K. Weber, Bluford Wilson, W. F. Workman and Loren E. Wheeler. We realize that this is historical rather than suggestive, but the committee hopes that these names may be suggestive of workers for the organization in the future.

As one of the branches of its work it is suggested that the Association might offer a prize in cash, a sum sufficient to attract able writers for the best monograph on Lincoln. It has been suggested that a poem on Lincoln might at times be indicated, or at least be made a part of the plan. This prize should be offered at stated periods, say every three, five, seven or ten years. Prizes should be announced early enough to give ample time for study and original research. The time between the issuance of the prizes should be ample for the purposes just mentioned, but not so far apart that they are not considered or may be lost sight of by literary and historical periodicals and by students. The American Historical Association will be interested in such a plan and will be glad to advise and assist.

A committee of the highest possible reputation should be judges and award prizes. The committee might consist of the President of the State University, and the heads of the departments of history and English of that institution. Like officials of the University of Chicago might be added or some members from each institution. These may be changed from time to time. Different persons or different colleges and universities may be invited on different years if it seems advisable.

The Pulitzer Prize offered by the New York World is too elaborate and too expensive a plan to be considered as a model by this Association at this time. We briefly mention some phases of the Pulitzer plan. The prizes are offered first, for the most disinterested and meritorious public service rendered by any American newspaper during the year. This prize was awarded in May, 1921, to the Boston Post, for its exposure of "Get Rich Quick Ponzi's" scheme. The prize was a $500 gold medal.

Second. For the best example of a reporter's work during the year, $1,000 was awarded to Louis Sebold of the New York World, for his interview with President Wilson, published June 18, 1920.

Third. The best American novel published during the year, which shall best present the wholesome atmosphere of American life and the highest standard of American manners and manhood. A prize of $1,000 was awarded to Edith Wharton, author of The Age of Innocence.

Fourth. For the best book of the year on the history of the United States, $2,000 was awarded to Rear Admiral William Snowden Sims for "The Victory at Sea," which he wrote in collaboration with Burton J. Hendrick.

Fifth. For the best American biography teaching patriotic and unselfish service to the people. The names of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln are excluded as too obvious. A prize of $1,000 was awarded to "The Americanization of Edward Bok," an autobiography.

Three traveling scholarships, of the value of $1,500 each, are given to the graduates of the school of journalism having the highest honors and other qualifications. Scholarships in music and to students selected by the Academy of Design, and other prizes and scholarships, including prizes to honor graduates of the New York City high schools who on examination are given scholarships in Columbia University and an annual stipend of $250. Last year over fifty students won this prize.

The American Historical Association offers several prizes from endowment funds, among them the George L. Beer prizes, for which there is an endowment of $5,000; the Robert M. Johnson prize, $250; the American Military History prizes, $250; the Justin Winsor prize on the best published or unpublished essay on the History of Western Hemisphere, $200; the Henry Baxter Adams prize on the History of Eastern Hemisphere, $250; the Winsor prize is offered on the even years, and the Adams prize on the odd years.

The prizes are for the best monographs, etc., on American or other historical topics, respectively. These are more nearly the kind of prizes that this Association can afford to offer. At the same time it must be confessed that the offering of considerable cash prizes by metropolitan newspapers and other agencies to children in the schools, for work which, from the age and school grades of the contestants, make it impossible that the essays should possess high literary merit lessens the interest of the historical worker of more advanced age and education in competitive prizes. The success of such a competition will depend upon its scientific requirements and the character of the committee of awards. These competitions have in no wise lessened the interest in the prizes of the American Historical Association.

In connection with the subject of prizes that of scholarships is suggested. Prizes of scholarships in our smaller Illinois colleges or even universities may be offered to students in the high schools of the State. These might bear the names of the founders of the Association or may be gifts bearing the names of donors. We might offer the J Otis Humphrey Scholarship for Shurtleff College, for instance, as Judge Humphrey was a graduate of that institution and was much interested in it. He was, we believe, a member of the governing board of the college.

We have a number of these excellent colleges. Illinois College, McKendree College, Knox College and many others, all would, we are sure, be glad to have this Association offer a scholarship in their respective institutions. The scholarships might in time be extended to include the great universities of the country, or even other countries.

The Association has published in years past beginning with the Centennial of Mr. Lincoln's birth, 1909, some creditable Lincoln literature. We are somewhat proud to say that the first of these publications was the third volume of the Illinois Historical Collections. The Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858, edited by Professor Edwin Erle

Sparks, then a director of the State Historical Society, and published by the Illinois State Historical Library in 1908. This the Association had handsomely bound, and with information about the Lincoln Centennial Association added. The addresses delivered were published, several other valuable works were added from year to year, during the lifetime of Judge Humphrey, but none have been issued since his death, we believe.

The speakers for the Lincoln birthday observances should be chosen with the idea that their addresses be worthy of publication by the Association, and that the Association build up a Lincoln series which will be a real addition to the Lincoln literature of the world. One of the principal objects of the Lincoln Centennial Association and its permanent work should be the building up of the world's greatest collection of Lincolniana. This to be the property of the State of Illinois. This to have in view the acquisition of every book, pamphlet, sermon, essay or poem that has been written about Abraham Lincoln—to include a collection of lives or biographies or other writings in foreign languages of which there are many in existence at this time, and their number is increasing every day, as interest in Mr. Lincoln's life and services grows throughout the world. The State Historical Library has Lincoln biographies in French, German, Italian, Spanish, Portugese, Russian, Hawaiian, Hebrew, Yiddish, Japanese, Chinese and other languages.

An important part of this collection to be original manuscripts, letters and documents in Mr. Lincoln's handwriting, every effort to be made to obtain these papers. Those belonging to private collectors usually come again on the market. A vigilant search to be made for such writings. The Library of Congress has a large collection. These of course can never be secured but they are safe from destruction. Letters of Mr. Lincoln's personal and political associates should be collected. The great life of Lincoln has not been written. Illinois should own the source material from which such a life may be compiled. It will encourage donations and gifts if people realize that a worthy place of deposit is in existence. Other institutions may be induced to part with valuable material, in order to make this collection complete. This Association may at times purchase items, when the appropriation of the State for the purpose is exhausted. The Legislature would probably reimburse it. For instance, an auction or other sale of rare Lincoln items takes place, and there is no money immediately available. It is a purchase that would be approved by the Legislature, but the money must be available without delay. This Association could purchase it and sell it to the State at cost.

Searching for original manuscripts should be the most important part of this collection as it is quite within the bounds of probability that if a book has been printed, copies may from time to time come on the market. There is usually but one original copy of a letter or other manuscript document. They are easily lost or destroyed. Then, too, the original owners of such letters and documents are dead and their children and grandchildren are often obliged to sell them. These letters are fast becoming rare and expensive. The collection should include all pictures of Mr. Lincoln, his family and the prominent

actors in the events of that period. Photographs, engravings, paintings, cartoons, and the rare old daguerreotypes, medals and campaign badges are desirable. Files of contemporary newspapers and periodicals should be included.

This collection, of which the State has a splendid beginning, will be housed in the new Centennial Memorial Building.

Another important project which should be considered is the care and preservation of the old State House, now the Sangamon County Court House, and its ultimate use as a memorial to Mr. Lincoln and other pioneers of Illinois in which memorials and relics will be housed.

Exhibitions of such material should be made and such an exhibit should always be a part of the Lincoln birthday celebration. There is to be in the Centennial building a special Lincoln room, not a library room, but one in which are to be placed only really valuable articles, not books. The board of public works will welcome suggestions as to the fittings and furnishing of this room. The Lincoln exhibits may be held in it.

The Lincoln Centennial Association should encourage a Lincoln pageant or play to be presented at New Salem by the people of Petersburg and Menard county. It should be given perhaps every five years. It should be on such a high plane of historic accuracy and literary merit as to attract visitors from all parts of the country. It should probably be produced three times a week for three weeks in the month of August. A prize might be offered for the lines of this pageant. It might be offered by this Association as its part in the work.

At Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1920 the Tercentenary Celebration of the landing of the Pilgrims the pageant was produced, the three nights of the full moon, during July, August and September.

A paved road or boulevard between Springfield and New Salem would be of great advantage to Springfield and all of the New Salem movements, and of course to tourists. It should be wider, if possible, than the present type of State-aid hard roads, but this is hardly within the province of this Association, except in-so-far as the Association will lend its aid and encouragement to all worthy and dignified work for Lincoln memorials. A feature of this road should be its trees. There might be splendid memorial trees to Lincoln's associates. Some of these might be transplanted trees of large size in order that they might from the first stand out as larger, stronger and more impressive than the rows of trees of the usual size of planting.

It is suggested that all persons who personally knew Mr. Lincoln be induced to write their recollections. The best results are obtained through interviews, at which time questions are asked and the replies taken down by a stenographer. It is especially desired that Mr. Robert T. Lincoln give the Association his recollections in permanent form, either written by himself or in the form of an interview, but a consecutive statement written by Mr. Robert T. Lincoln himself is of course much to be desired.

It has been suggested that for the actual celebration of the birthday there should be given a small or comparatively small luncheon or dinner for the sustaining members of the Association at which time there should be a speaker who would be able to discuss the Lincoln

influence along certain lines, in different parts of America or the world. This, of course, would naturally vary on different occasions. It is further suggested that there should be as a rule an evening mass meeting which should in a sense be a community meeting and at which the principal speaker should be a person of reputation and distinction and a popular speaker.

It is suggested that the information about Mr. Lincoln's life in Sangamon county and central Illinois and the sites connected with his residence here be collected and written or edited by some competent writer or writers and published in some brief, but attractive and readable style for distribution to visitors or interested persons. The booklet might be sold for a nominal sum. Railroad companies may be glad to buy them in quantities for advertising purposes. We have been told by Mr. Davenport of the Commercial Association that the three principal railroads entering Springfield have agreed to allow stop-over privileges for the purpose of permitting travelers to visit historic spots in the city. Such persons would find a little guide book a great assistance and an interesting souvenir.

There may be two or more classes of members of the Association. Life, annual, sustaining, contributing or honorary members, each class paying a different amount of dues. A life membership in the Association would be a splendid gift. These matters have been referred to during the discussion of the matter of finance.

These are a few suggestions. We must move slowly and everything connected with the Association must be worthy of the respect and admiration of all classes of Americans, especially must we strive to deserve the co-operation of earnest, studious and scientific historians.

(Signed) Jessie Palmer Weber,
Mary E. Humphrey,
George W. Bunn, Jr.,
Committee.

Co-Operation With Other Historical Associations.

The Illinois State Historical Society attempts to cooperate with, and to aid in every way, associations working toward the preservation of history or historical projects. Foremost among these splendid organizations is that great body of American women associated for patriotic and historical work, the Daughters of the American Revolution.

The State Historical Society has cooperated with the D. A. R. and other citizens in the work of marking the old Eighth Judicial Circuit of Illinois, the route traveled by Mr. Lincoln and other lawyers and judges in attending court in the various counties of the Circuit. I have repeatedly told you of the work of the Lincoln Circuit Marking Association, in placing markers at the county seats of the various counties of the Circuit, and on county lines between the several counties. This work is now happily about completed, but it needs one more long, strong, pull this summer. I suggest that the Historical Society take some further and official steps to help complete this work, which is of more than state-wide significance.

Prize Essay Contest in Schools of the State.

Another important piece of work with which the State Historical Society has been associated with the D. A. R. is the offer of a First or State prize, a gold medal for the best essay on an assigned topic of State History to the pupils of the schools of the State, public and private, from the eighth to the twelfth grades inclusive. The prizes are offered on the county plan. A gold medal to the best essay submitted in the entire State, and a silver medal for the best essay submitted in each county, except in the county which wins the first prize or gold medal.

Last year the topic considered was Pioneer Women of Illinois. The first prize was won by Miss Julia Ann Buck of Monmouth, Warren County. The prize was presented to Miss Buck at the Illinois Day, December Third meeting of the Historical Society. State Superintendent of Public Instruction Francis G. Blair presented the medal to the winner, with an eloquent and inspiring address. This year the topic under consideration is Early Travel and Methods of Transportation in Illinois. There seems to be an increased interest in the competition. If the members of the Historical Society are interested in this plan it will be helpful if they as individuals will give the matter some consideration and support looking into it in their own localities. The Secretary of the Society will be glad to explain the details of the plan.

The Great Cahokia Group of Mounds.

Members of the Historical Society are familiar with the fact that within the boundaries of the State of Illinois, particularly in Madison and St. Clair Counties, are situated Indian Mounds of rare, perhaps unique, historical and scientific value. Eminent scientists of the United States and Europe have visited the Great Monks Mound and have pronounced it one of the great Indian remains of the world. Early French writers spoke of the mounds, and American travelers for a hundred years have marveled at them.

Many attempts have been made to induce the State, through the General Assembly, to purchase these mounds, or at least the more important ones, to use them as State parks and above all to preserve them for posterity. Professor Warren K. Moorhead, a noted and reliable archaeologist, has spent much time in surveying the mounds. The University of Illinois, the State Historical Society, other associations and many private individuals have contributed funds for a preliminary survey. This year, during the present General Assembly, as has been done many times before, a bill was introduced carrying an appropriation for the purchase of the Mounds. The D. A. R. of the State have given active aid to the project. Citizens of St. Clair and Madison Counties, scientific men and representatives of the D. A. R. have appeared before legislative committees. The fate of the bill is not yet decided. Probably all has been done that can be done this year, as it is now so late in the session. I suggest that the Historical Society create a committee on the Cahokia Mounds, whose

duty it will be to study the matter in all its phases and to prepare a report and make recommendations in the matter.*

Fort Creve Coeur.

The General Assembly appropriated a small sum of money to mark the site, in Tazewell County, Illinois, of LaSalle's early French Fort Créve Cœur. The Historical Society has had almost since its organization a committee to consider the disputed question of the site of the old fort. The early presidents of the Society, and our present President has followed the good example set him by his predecessors, appointed this committee from the strongest men in the Society. Captain J. H. Burnham, William A. Meese, Judge William R. Curran, all enthusiastic, devoted and unselfish students of Illinois history, were long associated with this committee. All these devoted workers are now dead.

The present committee has made a painstaking survey of the situation. They consulted all available authorities in French and English sources, and while the exact site may never be exactly determined this committee has made a report, settling for all time, it is hoped, the approximate location of the site of LaSalle's ill-fated fort. The members of the committee are Jacob C. Thompson, Professor C. W. Alvord and Professor J. A. James. The committee has made a report, the conclusions of which have been accepted as final, and a beautiful though simple marker has been made and will be placed to mark the site in Fond-du-Lac Township, Tazewell County. A small park, fifteen acres in area, has been donated to the State by Mr. and Mrs. C. H. Wagner, owners of the land. The Peoria Chapter D. A. R. will be glad to have an oversight to the little Park and see that it is kept in order and in good repair.

Resignation of Professor E. B. Greene from the Historical Library Board.

Members have learned with regret that Professor E. B. Greene, one of the founders of the Historical Society, its first Secretary and a director since its organization, has resigned from the faculty of the University of Illinois after twenty-eight years of service. Professor Greene goes to Columbia University. His leaving our State University is a great loss to the University and to the State. The State Historical Library, of whose governing board he has been president for thirteen years, will greatly miss him. The Historical Society will not, of course, lose his interest and counsel, upon which it will continue to rely. It is likely that the Society will desire to express its appreciation of Professor Greene's twenty-four years of service to it by the adoption of some form of resolutions.

Statues of Eminent Illinoisans.

The statues of the War Governor Richard Yates and Governor John M. Palmer, for which appropriation was made by the two previous sessions of the General Assembly, are completed and will soon be placed on the State Capitol Grounds. It was hoped they would be

*The General Assembly, 1923, appropriated fifty thousand dollars for the purchase of the mounds.

in place before the close of the present session of the General Assembly, but it is now probably too late for this to be arranged. The sculptor of the Yates statue is Albin Polasek of Chicago, and Leonard Crunelle, also of Chicago, is the sculptor of the Palmer statue.

The last session of the General Assembly appropriated money for the construction of a statue of Nathaniel Pope, to be placed in a Chicago park. No work has been done on the Pope statue, and a request has been made that the money be reappropriated, as it will lapse into the State Treasury if this is not done. It is likely that this will be reappropriated. Illinois owes a great debt to Nathaniel Pope and a statue of this great and foresighted man should be erected that our citizens may remember and revere him.

The publications of the Society are still delayed, but we are catching up and I hope that before another year passes the Journal will be up to date chronologically. We have received many kind letters in regard to the Journal. Our last two numbers have been especially popular.

Mr. T. E. Musselman's splendid article on the Birds of Illinois has been most popular. The Librarian of the Chicago Public Library asked for seventy-two copies that one might be placed in each branch library and be made a part of the reading course.

I am sure you have all enjoyed Mrs. Josephine Craven Chandler's Spoon River Country, which is not only a valuable historical paper but has genuine literary merit. It made quite a little sensation among the readers of central Illinois and I have had the pleasure of sending to Mrs. Chandler many letters expressing appreciation of and admiration for her work.

The paper of Mr. J. M. Glenn in our last published Transactions, 1921, on the "Industrial Development of Illinois," has also received wide spread attention. We have received many requests for copies of the address and for permission to copy it, or parts of it. Mr. Glenn has also received many letters commending his paper and asking for copies of it.

The History of the Thirty-Third Division, American Expeditionary Forces in France, by Lieut. Colonel Frederick L. Huidekoper and published by the State Historical Library, is the most elaborate and thorough history of its soldiers of the late Great War attempted by any state, and Illinois may well be proud of it. It was put through the press under the able editorship of Professor T. C. Pease, who devoted an immense amount of labor to it.

Last year I reported to you that through the Historical Society appropriation the Diary of Orville H. Browning, an eminent Illinois statesman of the Lincoln period and a little later, had been purchased. The Library Board will publish this important historical document under the editorship of Professor Pease and Professor Randall. It is a remarkable diary and it will be a great addition to the historical literature of the period.

The Library Board continues its work on the series entitled Illinois Historical Collections, in charge of Professor Pease. The high standard of historical accuracy and scientific historical treatment is maintained. Perhaps Professor Pease will tell us something of his plans.

Gifts to the Library and Historical Society.

Gifts to the Society and Library are acknowledged in the Journal, but I beg to mention a few gifts which are out of the ordinary.

The daughters of Judge J Otis Humphrey have presented to the Historical Society an interesting and valuable historical manuscript. In 1857, a young man, a student of Shurtleff College, was suspended. He thought unjustly. He brought suit against the Trustees of the College for reinstatement. His attorney was Abraham Lincoln. The attorney for the college was John M. Palmer. A statement of the case, a brief I suppose it is, was filed in the January, 1858, term of the Court; this is entirely in Mr. Lincoln's handwriting. The brief or reply for the college is entirely in the handwriting of John M. Palmer. The two papers are in a large envelope, upon which Judge Humphrey wrote "Lincoln and Palmer."

The Misses Humphrey have been offered a considerable sum of money for these papers, which they declined, and they have presented them to the Historical Society. I suggest that the Society thank these ladies for their generous gift. Miss Mary Humphrey, the eldest daughter of Judge Humphrey, presented the papers to the Society on Lincoln's birthday, 1923.

Mr. Thomas Condell, great-grandson of Governor Ninian Edwards, presented to the Society three day books of Governor Edwards. The books contain a record of transactions from 1811 to 1831. Governor Edwards died in 1833. These books are most valuable and interesting.

Mr. Charles J. Scofield of Carthage, Illinois, has presented the Society with a history of Hancock County, Illinois, of which he is the editor.

An oil painting of James T. B. Stapp, a prominent early citizen of Illinois, painted by James W. Berry of Vandalia who painted so many portraits in his day, has been presented to the Society by Mr. William S. Ennis, of 39 Schiller Street, Chicago.

Miss Maud Lemen of Pinckneyville, Illinois, has presented the Society with a copy of the Ulster County Gazette of January 4, 1800, containing a notice of the death of General George Washington.

DECEASED MEMBERS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

We publish brief biographical notices of deceased members in the Journal. Let me again ask the members to inform the Secretary when they know of the death of a member of the Society.

We have lost a distinguished honorary member of this Society, Mrs. John A. Logan. A close personal friend will tell us of Mrs. Logan's life and public services, but I would like to call your attention to the fact that Mrs. Logan mentioned the Illinois State Historical Society in her will, by directing that her library become the property of the Society on the death of her daughter and grandson. This is the first time, I believe, that any bequest has been made to this Society.

In the death of Mrs.Matthew T. Scott of Bloomington, this Society has lost a valued member and a powerful friend. Julia Green Scott was a great woman. She was one of the outstanding figures

in the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution. To her more than to any other individual is due the credit for the purchase of Fort Massac Park by the State of Illinois. This was the first of the historical projects, the entering wedge which has been followed by the purchase of Starved Rock Park; the site of Fort de Chartres, and other important historical sites. Mrs. Scott presented an able paper on the History of Fort Massac, at a meeting of the Historical Society in 1903. A more adequate tribute to this noble woman and gracious lady will be published later.

DECEASED MEMBERS.

May, 1922—May, 1923.

Brown, George, Sycamore.....February 6, 1923
Enos, Miss Louisa I., Springfield.....September 3, 1922
Hamlin, Frank, Chicago.....May 3, 1922
Hicklin, Mrs. Martha, Springfield.....October 15, 1922
Kumler, Rev. John A., Hamilton, Ohio.....April 6, 1923
Lansden, Hon. John M., Cairo.....January 17, 1923
Laning, C. B., Kansas City, Missouri.....August 17, 1922
Latham, Miss May, Lincoln.....February 4, 1923
McKown, Rev. Charles F., Athens.....April, 1922
Mertz, William K., Chandlerville.....April 26, 1922
Prickett, Major Wm. R., Edwardsville.....December 23, 1922
Quayle, Robert, Oak Park.....September 3, 1922
Scott, Mrs. Julia Green, Bloomington.....April 29, 1923
Stahl, Mrs. Katherine, Alton.....June 8, 1922
Visser, Raymond, Chicago.....February, 1923
Watson, David, Springfield.....April, 1922
Huntington, Mrs. Arthur, Springfield.....May 21, 1923

Local Historical Societies are doing excellent work in some localities, but they need aid. I suggest a committee to consider how best they can be encouraged.

On Saturday, May 19, 1923, the Madison County Historical Society held its annual meeting at the country home of Mr. Gaius Paddock. It was Mr. Paddock's eighty-seventh birthday. I was sorry not to be able to attend the meeting, but I have been having a severe cold and so was obliged to forego the pleasure.

The Madison County Society has recently been assigned a room in the County Court House and the county has made an appropriation of $500.00 to buy furniture for the room.

This report is growing too long in view of the business before the Society, but in closing I wish to urge the members to be more active in the work of the Society, help collect historical material in your locality, write for the Journal, or suggest topics or writers to the Secretary. The Society will mean more to you if you give more of yourself to the Society. Help the officers to improve the publications and to extend the influence and activities of the Society.

Your officers urge you to help the Historical Society to be what the State of Illinois deserves, the best, the most virile, the most forceful Historical Society in the United States.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON GENEALOGY.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

If we were to report the inquiries that come in our daily mail to this department of the Library it would be a revelation to you, we are now expected to be able to prove the dates of marriages and births, or in fact be a competitor of the vital statistics of the State Board of Health.

We have not yet reached the point a genealogical investigator from California brought forth; for many years he had been in correspondence with a woman in the South relative to an ancestor, who said that she knew nothing more than had already been given but she would keep it in mind and if anything turned up she would let him know. One day the postman brought a rather heavy package addressed to our California genealogical investigator, which upon opening, was found to contain the name plate from the coffin of the ancestor buried two generations ago, upon which appeared his full name, date and place of birth and death. In fact, it gave all the details sought for and which existed nowhere else but in the person's grave.

Another inquiry we had was, could we give any information relative to some children in a runaway balloon. Could we find the date of the time of the State Fair held in Centralia? As this occurrence was at that time, what became of the children and have they any descendants living in Illinois? I looked up the date of the State Fair in Centralia, which was held September 14-17, 1858, and in the Transactions of the Department of Agriculture for that year was the account of the runaway balloon and the children were the Harvey children. You will be interested in reading this account when you receive your next Journal. We have inserted in the Journal an inquiry to try and locate some of their descendants. The early marriage records of the State are hard to find, owing to the carelessness on the part of county officials as to their care and preservation. We have among our members interested workers along this line trying to search out these records. I wish to commend the work of the Historian of the Peoria Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, Mrs. George Spangler, who has compiled from records the early marriages in Tazewell County, 1827-1835; Putnam County, 1831-1834, also Woodford County, 1841-1846, besides looking up early wills and Revolutionary soldiers. These records we are publishing in the Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society and Transactions.

Mrs. Flo Jamison Miller of Monticello, Illinois, another one of our best workers, has within the past few weeks, deposited with us the records of the first three hundred marriage licenses in Piatt County, covering the years 1841-1852.

Mrs. Charles E. Knapp of Springfield, former Historian of the Springfield Chapter Daughters of the American Revolution, has deposited in the Library the results of her research work on the early records of Sangamon County, which covers the work of two years and is invaluable.

Mr. Milo Custer Secretary of the Central Illinois Historical Society Bloomington, Ill., has compiled seven numbers of Family Records of McLean County, and a publication of Pioneer Portraits of Central Illinois, which he has given to the Library. Mr. Ensley Moore of Jacksonville continues his contributions on Morgan County history. We trust that this good work will be carried on by our members in other counties in the state and deposited with us.

We have been called upon to furnish a good working list for libraries who are interested in a genealogical collection, as well as for Chapters of the D. A. R. contemplating building up libraries, and in such cases have supplied these requests. We are adding from time to time the best material for our collection that we can secure, the eastern records we have no trouble with as the town histories are being published and the Historical Societies with whom we exchange our publications are full of valuable information. It is in the southern states where we need help and have, it seems to me the most calls for, but Kentucky and Virginia through their historical societies and publications are doing a great deal of work along this line and it has been of great assistance to our students.

Another Revolutionary soldier buried in Illinois is to be added to our published list, namely, George Humphreys, buried in a country cemetery in Edwards County.

Gifts of family histories to the Library we acknowledge in the Journal of the Society. If you know of any histories being compiled please notify us and we will get in touch with the compiler and secure the history for the department.

We appreciate the help and interest you have given us in this department of the library and trust that it will continue, so that we may be of still greater service to our students and workers.

Respectfully submitted,

GEORGIA L. OSBORNE,
Chairman Genealogical Committee,
Illinois State Historical Society.

TWENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

TUESDAY AND WEDNESDAY, MAY 22-23, 1923.
Auditorium Centennial Memorial Building

ORDER OF EXERCISES

TUESDAY AFTERNOON, MAY 22, 1923, 2:30 O'CLOCK

DOCTOR O. L. SCHMIDT, President of the Society, Presiding
Address.....“Jefferson Davis in Wisconsin”
MR. M. M. QUAIFE, Madison, Wisconsin
Address.....“Benjamin F. Harris, an Illinois Pioneer”
MRS. MARY VOSE HARRIS, Champaign
Songs.....MISS RUTH BECKETT NORTH, Springfield
Address.....“The Prairie and the Railroad”
MR. C. A. HARPER, University of Illinois, Urbana

DINNER IN HONOR OF PROFFESSOR E. B. GREENE AT 6 O'CLOCK SHARP AT THE ILLINI COUNTRY CLUB

Members are requested to make reservations for the dinner through the Secretary of the Society before noon Monday.
Price Two Dollars.

TUESDAY EVENING SESSION, 8:15 O'CLOCK

Invocation.....REV. WILLIAM F. ROTHENBURGER, Springfield
Songs.....“Star Spangled Banner”, “Illinois”
Mixed Quartet: MADAM KLARE MARIE SEE, Soprano; RUBY WALKER ANDERSON, Contralto; M. H. WILLING, Bass; HARRY BLAIR DAVIDSON, Tenor
“Illinois and Time”, Dedicatory Poem.....WALLACE RICE, Chicago
Mixed Quartet.....The Centennial Hymn (Rice-Moore)
MADAM KLARE MARIE SEE, RUBY WALKER ANDERSON, M. H. WILLING, HARRY BLAIR DAVIDSON
Presentation of Honorable Len Small, Governor of Illinois.DR. O. L. SCHMIDT
Introduction of United States Senator Fess, the Speaker of the Evening GOVERNOR SMALL
Annual Address.....“The European Situation and Our Relation to It”
HONORABLE SIMEON D. FESS, United States Senator from Ohio
Songs.....MRS. S. B. HARRY, Taylorville

WEDNESDAY MORNING, MAY 23, 1923

9:30 o'Clock.....Directors Meeting in Secretary's Office
10:00 o'Clock.....Business Meeting of the Society
Address.....“Ephraim Elmer Ellsworth, First Martyr of the Civil War”
MR. L. E. ROBINSON, Monmouth College, Monmouth, Ill.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, 2:45 O'CLOCK

Address.....“The Influence of Tennesseeans in the Formation of Illinois”
REV. E. B. LANDIS, D. D., Homewood
Songs.....MISS DIAMOND VADAKIN, Springfield
Address:
“Influence of Commerce on Union Sentiment in the Old Northwest in 1860”
MR. A. L. KOHLMEIER, Indiana State University, Bloomington, Indiana
Address.....“Life and Public Services of Mrs. John A. Logan”
MRS. A. S. CALDWELL, Regent Logan Chapter Daughters of the American Revolution, Carbondale

PART II

Papers Read at the Annual Meeting, May 22-23, 1923

ILLINOIS AND TIME.

A Dedicatory Ode.

WALLACE RICE.

How various a pageant hath old Time,
The ages' most astute stage-manager,
Brought on the boards of this, our Illinois;
Betimes with music every heart to stir,
Now with a dirge, again with pride and joy
Within its soulful rime!
And we, participants gathered here today
Better to celebrate ancestral worth,
Envisioned gaze upon this coign of earth
Wherein still passeth our endearing play.

And what a stage and what a setting here!
Long blossoming with multitudinous flowers,
Tall grasses to bespeak the fruitful soil,
Warm fragrant nights and golden sunlit hours,
A thousandfold returning to our toil
Beneath horizons clear.
Great rivers rolling in their majesty,
Forests and Nature's orchards with their sweet
And ever these vast, spreading plains to greet
The vaster azure of our clement sky.

Then entereth Man. Whether from east or west,
Old Egypt's pyramids were planted here
By some mysterious people long ago,
With sacrificial songs we shall not hear
And ceremonials we shall never know,
Nor whom they cursed or blessed.
The Red Men followed with long savagery,
Plumed with the eagle, brave with many a spear
And flint-tipped arrow, cruel and severe;
But men, courageous, fierce, the Illini.

Faded their annals, faint their memories,
Nor one remaining now to tell their tale
Or foot their measures to the bounteous maize,
Their triumphs loud recount or, baffled, wail
Their warriors dead. The sun hath shed his rays
Upon the last of these.

Thereunto come in fateful puissance
A quartered millenray now agone
With thunderous gun and filled gonfalon,
Bold escort to the Cross, engloried France.

Warrior and priest, how they together stand!
Joliet, who many a distant truth forespoke,
And at his side that sainted soul, Marquette,
La Salle, misfortunate, in his crimson cloak,
Martyred Ribourde beside; and living yet
Tonty the Iron Hand,
Paragon of friends. Then the merry page
Writ by woodrunners the gay summers long—
Sad rascals they, with women, wine, and song
And Dartaguiette, who names our Golden Age.

Mirroring here in little Europe's stings
France ruled the stage till pompous Britain came
To bring distress full and inglorious,
Before Virginia sent that heart of flame,
George Rogers Clark, who stoutly made for us
A fitting end of kings.
Still echo in our ears his Long Knives' cheers
When night-clad, swearing Rochebleve met his face
As modest Clark reproved his shrewish mate—
Still sounds the laughter of the pioneers.

Over the mountains hear the resonant tread
And creaking wheels of the adventurous host,
Stout-hearted comrades, women braver still,
And little folk, to seek what's wanted most
Wide freedom, as our prairies slowly fill
With spirits comforted.
Through years of struggle with the savages,
British intrigue, forests to fell, and worse—
The racking ague and the fever's curse,
Theirs is the skill to win the wilderness.

Minds no less skilful theirs. Their clear foresight
Our country of the Illinois sets free
From vexing neighbors. Making it one whole
They bring within its bounds the smiling sea
Blue in the north; and lend it such a soul
As kept our Union bright.
Nor lack they courage to make open war
Against the poisonous wiles of slavery
And speculative greed; and free were we
When in the Flag we proudly placed our Star.

Step by slow step the Indians were expelled,
And after Black Hawk there were none to fear

Against polygamy the fight was gained;
    Curbed was extravagance, and its parting smear,
Repudiation, vanquished, till unstained
    And bright our honor held.
    From wise beginnings, college and the school
    Were nurtured, and implanted everywhere
    The seeds of knowledge, while we brought to bear
Religion's spreading branches and mild rule.

In Mexico our volunteers with bay
    Encrowned their warfare, and in troublous days
That followed nowhere was the battle fought
    Stronger for right. See Douglas as the blaze
Of Civil strife flares up! Then here were wrought
    Lightnings that clove the way:
From Cairo Grant his thunderbolts first flashed,
    Kentucky and Missouri held in check
    While Donelson paled, and with Vicksburg's wreck
Down to despair the foeman's fair hope crashed.

This tiny fragment of the greater world,
    Itself grown great, speeds blue-clad myriads
On bannered marches shaking earth as east
    And south our fighting men and scarce grown lads,
Singing our songs, battle, and conquer peace
    As down Disunion's hurled.
Long years out of these legions combatant
    Our State is ruled—men of heroic frames,
    Logan, Yates, Palmer, Oglesby their names
O'er topped by that of our great soldier, Grant.

But what of soldiers when a humble man,
    Most human of this earth's heroic men,
This Illinois of ours hath given mankind?
    Abraham Lincoln, fellow-citizen
Of yours, of mine, of every man, to bind
    Us in a single span.
Duty, mercy, mistake and victory,
    Our smiles and tears and laughter one with him—
    Our hopes, our prayers. Well may our eyes go dim:
Lincoln is all his countrymen would be.
Past now the hatreds of fraternal war
And one at heart the Nation Lincoln saved
And one at heart with him. Now roll the years
    More smoothly, and the loveliness we craved
The times have granted as the spirit hears
    And fairer grows our life.
Prosperity, and not of purse alone,
    Is ours and with the vigorous flourishing
Of trade and industry our poets sing,
    The arts and music strive toward their own.

Betimes we share in setting Cuba free,
    Peace follows, and to millions are we grown,
When on a sudden Europe waxeth mad,
    Reaping dread harvest from the seed long sown
For cataclysm. Hideous the days and sad
    While death demands his fee,
In those portentous months, or small or great
    Nothing was asked that Illinois denied
    Of wealth and labor and her youth clear-eyed;
And now—pray God to save our souls from hate.

For wealth and victory are not happiness
    Alone. Deeper our spiritual need,
Deeper our want for broad intelligence
    Mellowed by wisdom, stripped of every greed
That starves the soul and brings sure punishments:
    Love, love alone, can bless
Mere tolerance to bigotry is akin:
    For open-minded understanding seek,
    And let the past unto the future speak
A new contrition lest we newly sin.

We have about us here the means and proof;
    Here, now, our mighty past a future greets
Mightier and more beautiful. Today
    For consecration this assembly meets,
With piety at heart to keep alway
    'Neath this aspiring roof
Sacred the memories of those now gone,
    The roots they water in this prairie loam
    With fathers' blood, with mothers' tears, a home
Where babes unborn shall shine as these have shown.

Wherefore in thankfulness we dedicate
    To the Almighty Power, manifest
Thro' five times fifty years, this pleasant place
    So rich in relics of the past, so blest
With conquests over Time, the more to grace
    The future of our State.
Time hath been tender with us, and our joy
    And hope he shareth, that here be displayed
    Within these walls the soul of all that made,
That makes, and shall make great, our Illinois.

THE EUROPEAN SITUATION AND OUR RELATION TO IT.

Annual Address.

SIMEON D. FESS.

I wish at the onset to express my gratitude to any state that undertakes the work that is being done by this great organization. I sometimes think we have been derelict in attempting to maintain the tablets in a permanent form that will preserve the records of the growth of a state. Our nation is so young that we have not yet learned to appreciate the meaning of that movement. The great State of Illinois has many things worth commemorating. Some of those things never will be forgotten, even though no effort is made to make them permanent. Any state that has the honor of having in it the operations of a great soul such as has made this city, the state and nation so disdinguished is a state so widely honored that I am sure no citizen can overlook its significance. Measured by what Mr. Lincoln said often, or measured by what he did, take either measure, each of which is of sufficient standard for any man, there is no doubt that he has no second in all American history.

I am often invited to different places to respond to some address, but no invitation can carry more significance than one extended by an organization like the Historical Association of any state, because I believe that the assurance of a nation is the respect that we show to the angle of history which that nation has taken, and therefore, when the invitation came to speak on this occasion it was more significant than the usual invitation.

There are many problems which today very much concern the attitude of our present civilization, and some of those problems are in an acute stage. I think the separation between Britain and France, which is at least a temporary break in the Entente, is one of the most significant incidents of our time. Here are the two great leading countries of Europe. They must be friends. It would be the fatality of the age for them to be enemies. The most significant separation of Bonar Law and Poincare, after the adjournment of the premier's council in January last, was when Bonar Law said to the head of the French government, "I wish you well but I fear results." It was a separation of two great nations on a question of dispute expressed in the most friendly way and significant because it was not a difference of religion, not a difference of race, or a difference of politics. Were it a difference in any of these items I should not be concerned, but it was a difference of economic law in its operation on two great nations.

All nations rise or fall as they recognize the force of economic law, and no nation is going to intentionally disrupt or ignore the force of economic law, and when you run over the evolution of Britian and contrast it with the evolution of France you will know why one nation is running in one direction economically and the other is running in an opposite direction.

The rise of the British Empire to the position on the sea that she occupies is one of the dramatic periods of not only her history but of any period in the history of the world. I have often thought about how one nation succeeds the other on the sea. When this new world was discovered Portugal ruled the sea. She lost it to Spain. Spain for a time lost it to Holland. Later France took it, and then came the duel between France and Britain, starting with 1688 and ending in 1815, a period of 127 years, during which seven great wars were fought in determining who should be supreme on the sea. When France lost through the declination and defeat of Napoleon, Britain came to rule the sea. She, for a hundred years has had the most interesting evolution of any nation of whose history I have any acquaintance.

A sea power must have a great merchant marine. Britain's merchant marine is double that of any other country. She must have coaling stations. Britain's coaling stations are so located that a great steamer could not be found at any point of the civilized sea with bunkers filled with coal, that that vessel would not be at a British coaling station before the coal was exhausted. She must have cables, facilities of communication. Britain has them. She must have open ports. There is no open port of civilization where her flag of commerce is not seen.

She must have a language. Whatever you might say of the growth of other languages, the language we speak, which when Bobby Burns wrote was spoken by not over ten million, now is spoken by over a hundred and sixty million, the most wonderful growth, so far as I know of any language in history. Not only that, but this must be backed by a naval organization. The policy of Britain, was, whatever be the size of the navy of the next largest country ours must be double. This is the make-up of a great power on the sea, developed in a hundred years, today the greatest overseas commercial country of all ages. Eighty per cent of all her activities is commerce overseas, and if you break Britain it will be because you interrupt that commerce.

Many years since the war closed, and today, Britain, the most substantial country of Europe, faces one and a half million people still out of employment, her most serious problem, with no promise of that unemployment being relieved except through government doles, the most dangerous policy any government can enter upon. Britain sees it and therefore she sees the markets now broken must be revived or her oversea's power is declining and her home problem of unemployment is not relieved.

Does Britain sympathize with any particular government in Russia, evidence of which people are offering because she wants an economic conference in which Russia is represented on the basis that no stability endures or economic recovery is possible unless Russia is included? Nobody ought to make the mistake of thinking that Britain is sympa-

thizing with the Soviet government or wishes to apoligize for what has been done. On the other hand, she condemns it, but she realizes that with this marvelous, potential power in this empire of the North, once that could measure with any nation of the world, 150 to 200 million people, with one-sixth of the inhabitable globe under her domination, that unless you include her in your scheme economic recovery in Europe is impossible. That explains Britain's desire to include Russia in any discussion of economic recovery.

Does Britain want to excuse Germany, or relieve that government from any obligation due to France or Belgium or Italy? Certainly not, but Britain says, if you push Germany to the point of collapse, where she is unable to pay, then nobody can stand, and while we insist upon Germany being made to pay all she is able to pay, you must stop short of pushing her to the point where there is no recovery. Why does Britain take this view? Because the oversea's trade that makes up eighty per cent of Great Britain's activities is now disturbed and not yet returned, and she sees no relief of the problem until that solution is realized. This is why Lloyd George urged the conference at Cannes. That is why the conference there adjourned to meet at Genoa. This is the reason that the Genoa conference adjourned to meet at the Hague.

France sees the other side of this picture. France ended the war with a debt of fifty-one per cent of her wealth. France has gone ahead under good faith that Germany would be made to pay, and she has increased her debt, and instead of it being fifty-one per cent of her wealth it is now over eighty-five per cent of her wealth. Now, our citizens do not realize this. America seems to be staggering under a debt because it had gone from less than a billion to twenty-six billion, and yet, ladies and gentlemen, our debt, if we subtract from it the foreign loans, which I assume we have the right to do because I assume they will be paid, then our debt is only seven per cent of our wealth, while France's debt is over eighty-five per cent of her wealth.

France says that if for any reason there is an excusing of Germany's obligation to pay the reparations, not the indemnity, but the reparation found by the Committee on Reparations, then France is bankrupt and worse by a thousand times France goes into a revolution, not a revolution of the ministry, but a revolution that would overturn the government. Now, we understand the attitude of France. Eighty per cent of her activity is agricultural, with only a fair one-fifth overseas activity. The trade of the world broken does not affect France so much, but the trade of the world interrupted makes the problem of Britain. I have the deepest sympathy with what Great Britain wishes to do. Of course we recognize the attitude of France, and when the United States saw the danger point we officially suggested to France that, if it would be agreeable to her, since it is a matter of dispute of facts as to what Germany can pay, we would be glad to lead in the formation of an international commission to survey the ability of Germany and to publish it to the world, in the hope that when that is done that there might be some

international arrangement in finance where the German obligations can be accepted in payment by those to receive the reparations, and possibly financed in America. But France was afraid to do this. She did not see her way clear to accept our offer because the treaty of Versailles, not being able to fix the reparations, did the only thing open and that was to appoint a commission upon reparations and let them study and fix it, then France was given the power under the treaty to use her army to collect it in case Germany defaulted.

France was afraid that if she would accept our suggestion that that would be abandoning her right under the treaty and she would, therefore, forfeit all the advantage that she now has as the victor in war. Therefore the door was closed to us for further effort, and the French Army went into the Ruhr Valley. It is now on a test and the world is waiting to see what will be the outcome. I believe there is no doubt about France having the right to do it, but there is grave doubt as to the economic wisdom of having done it. Britain thought it very unwise and therefore withdrew, but withdrew as a friend of her former ally, France.

Ladies and Gentlemen, this is a serious situation in Europe and I have introduced what I have to say here tonight with that instance to demonstrate this one statement: Wars are not over. Causes of war persist. We would live in rather a fools' paradise if we would think that under conditions as the human race still suffers that we have either outlawed war or we have made it impossible to have it again take place. The United States has stood in the forefront of an effort to avoid war internationally. She has tried the remedy of mediation, also the remedy of arbitration. I hope that she will try the experiment of an international court, and that is what I am going to talk to you on tonight.

The causes of wars are not less than three. Wars grow out of disputes over what we call "rights." The term right admits of different interpretations by different nations largely because of different training and probably because of the different angle with which these rights are viewed. As two individuals view a right differently, and therefore come into conflict, two nations differ upon what are rights. And that, my friends, will persist for years, if not for generations. So long as that does persist you have a present cause for war, not alone on this subject, but various nations have different policies. Britain would have a policy economically today on reparations. France has a policy that is not the same as Britain's. Neither is subject to criticism on the basis that they are unconcerned, but it is viewed from the angle of interest measured by the national existence of each.

We have a policy called the Monroe Doctrine. That is not a question of right. Nobody has ever claimed that the Monroe Doctrine is international law. That is an announcement made by one nation as a policy which is in the interest of peace in the Western Hemisphere, and that policy here is very strongly supported, and naturally so because of its origin. Our people have always been sympathetic with the movement of democracy the largest exercise of individuals in government. Our people never have looked with favor upon the

government of the few, but always with favor upon the government of the people, for and by the people. Therefore, when the Holy Alliance decreed that Mexico, having broken away from Spain, and followed by the other South American republics, should go back under the control of Spain, and we here in America saw that movement, our country, largely stimulated by leaders in Great Britain, pronounced the famous doctrine now known throughout the world, which doctrine was in simple language to the effect, that any attempt on the part of any European government to interfere with the government of any country in the New World will be regarded as an unfriendly act toward the United States, and followed by this statement, that we wanted the friendship of all countries but an entangling alliance with none. That is the famous announcement of James Monroe, because of which his name is as well known in Europe as any other name in American history.

It was announced in 1823. In 1826, in the Panama mission we reaffirmed it. In 1846, in the New Granada treaty, we again reaffirmed it. In 1850, in the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, we again announced it. In 1863, under the leadership of Lincoln, the greatest president our country ever produced, and he came from Illinois, Phil Sheridan at the head of fifty-thousand of the best trained and seasoned soldiers then living, went to the borders of Mexico and ordered the French government to withdraw its armies when they attempted to establish a French empire in Mexico by placing Maximilian at the head of the empire. That was in the name of the Monroe Doctrine. While it did not produce war it was because the French Army withdrew, all except Maximilian, and he is still here, as you understand.

The same thing might be said about our dispute with Venezuela in 1887 under the leadership of Grover Cleveland, and that was repeated by President Roosevelt when he ordered the German warships to leave the Venezuela waters within forty-eight hours because Germany declined to submit the question to arbitration on the basis that it was not a justiciable question, that it was all one-sided, and Roosevelt finally gave them forty-eight hours to withdraw. Twenty-four hours afterward the German representative in Washington came to the White House and said it was impossible to withdraw in forty-eight hours, when there was flashed back the reply, "You haven't forty-eight hours left, it is only twenty-four," and the subject was then submitted to arbitration.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, that is policy, the policy of America on the Monroe Doctrine; the policy of France on her disputes, and the policy of Britain on this and that. These are situations that produce war, differences in policy, and they will again produce war unless the policy is either withdrawn or there is a better medium of mutual understanding where the level of intelligence internationally can be increased. On the other hand, we have the causes of war such as threw the entire world into conflict in 1914, an episode where in some province some officer of official or member of the royal family meets with assassination. Although Earl Grey did what he could to get the disputants to submit the difference to arbitration it was not done.

The countries flamed, and the war, the greatest convulsion that ever shook the centuries, was the result.

We are now witnessing a terrible situation in China, and only today a great newspaper published in the great metropolis of your State quoted a striking statement from a striking president, "Pericardis alive or Raissuli dead," which came from the lips of President Roosevelt, and he meant every word of it. That meant, unless reparation comes at once, military power is used. There is any number of people who would do that immediately over in the Orient today. Here was another source which might be classified as a cause that will produce war; so, ladies and gentlemen, any one who thinks that we are exempt from war should disabuse his mind of that hope.

Wars are present because the causes are present. The United States has been one of the leading nations of history trying to find a way to avoid war and still maintain the honor of a great sovereign country. Recognizing the continuance or persistance of these points of difference we tried mediation. That has done a great deal of good, but, of course, it is not permanent, and cannot go very far. We have tried arbitration, and I would like to have you know now—and I am not telling you anything you are not familiar with, that I want to refresh your memory with something that you may have forgotten—the first official and formal recognition of the principle of arbitration, not as a temporary incident or agency, but as a permanent agency, was the Hague Conference of 1899. Twenty-six nations were represented. Our country was prominent; we were represented by the ex-president of Cornell University, the then Ambassador to Germany, Andrew D. White. That conference endorsed three conventions; two of which were not developed, and one of which they undertook to mature, and that was the effort to secure a permanent agency for pacific settlement of international disputes.

That is American because it was proposed by Andrew D. White, our delegate. It is American, second, because when they were about to adjourn without having come to a decision, White made a powerful plea that the convention take specific and definite action upon the recommendation before adjournment. They did it and they established what we call the Court of Arbitral Justice. It is American, third, because the first dispute ever submitted to it was our dispute with Mexico. It is American, fourth, because the greatest dispute, involving the most, was the dispute between Germany and Venezuela, and Germany refused to submit first, but under the stress of the head of the American Government that dispute was submitted to this Court of Arbitral Justice. It is America, fifth, because in 1904 the President then of the United States was deeply concerned about the possibilities of the first conference and recommended the calling of a second conference. All of the nations agreed except Russia and Japan, who were then in war, and as quickly as our president was informed by Russia that in case conference was held she could not attend, then in deference to that government our president withdrew the objection and renewed it after the war closed, and a second conference was called in 1917. Forty-six nations were there. We were

so much concerned about the movement for the pacific settlement of international disputes that in this second conference we wanted to take an advanced step. Our country was not satisfied with what had been done in the first conference, and you can see why, that was a court of arbitration, and that is not as a rule satisfactory. Arbitration does good, but it is not sufficient. It is inherently faulty. First, arbitrators are always negotiators, always biased, always advocates. Each country appoints its arbitrator; our country appoints ours. Our representative is the representative of the United States in this dispute; the other representative is the representative of the other nation in this dispute; the two appoint a third and the third is the umpire who decides the dispute.

Our country as well as others is not happy in turning over the destinies of a dispute to some one who always certainly will be alien to us, and neither is any other country willing to do so. That is why Germany refused to submit her dispute with Venezuela, for, they said, the third man is an umpire and he does not view the question in the interest of the dispute, and therefore it is always an alien decision.

Now, there is a good deal of basis for that complaint. Ladies and gentlement, arbitration accomplishes something but it is not sufficient. It is faulty, faulty for the reason that I have mentioned. What we need is, instead of an advocate for our side, some unprejudiced, impartial person who views the problem not as an advocate but as an exponent or expositor of the rights in the subject. For that reason the Court of Arbitral Justice of 1899 was not satisfactory.

President Roosevelt in 1907 authorized Elihu Root, our secretary of state—and if I do not offend anyone here, I would like to say the greatest international mind living today, in my judgment—to instruct the American delegation in the second Hague Conference to recommend and stand for, not a court of arbitral justice, but a permanent court of international character in which the judges do not represent any particular country but sit upon the issues in dispute from the standpoint of peace in the world. Consequently the instruction of Elihu Root in 1907 to Joseph Choate was the most far-reaching recommendation on the establishment of an international court of arbitral justice that we ever had in history. Mr. Choate made the recommendation. Weeks were spent in the discussion. It was finally adopted, together with twelve other conventions, and it provided for the appointment of fifteen judges but left it to the individual nations as to the method of selection. Unfortunately the nations never acted on the selection of the judges and this far-reaching recommendation toward the pacific settlement of international disputes failed by inaction of the individual states.

Unfortunately within a year after that the Balkan War broke and then in two years after the first Balkan War we had the second, and then seven years after this Conference adjourned the World War came. When it was over the one yearning desire of the world, which has never before been so deeply felt, was whether there was some way that we could lessen the chances of war, or prevent it possibly. Of course, the latter is impossible, but we can lessen the chances of war. The result of that was the announcement by the Versailles Treaty of the famous covenant of the League of Nations. There was considerable dispute on

that, and, of course, it is out of place for me here to discuss it, but in order that you may know that I am discussing the matter from an open mind I am under impulsion to say that I agree with the famous statement of Elihu Root, seven years before the announcement of the covenant, when, in speaking to the association or society of international lawyers, in the interest of the institute of international law, he said, "There is a hope that we will some day have a parliament of man and a government of a super-form in which the independence of the individual states will have in a degree to be submerged in the interest of the larger group." "But," he said, "that is a council of perfection, and the nations are not ready for that and it will be a long time before we are ready for it, and any attempt to produce that in the interest of preventing war will defeat its purpose because it will be a breeder of war."

I think that Mr. Root was correct in that statement, seven years before the covenant was announced. I am saying this not to offend any one who thinks differently from me. An audience like this, called upon an occasion like this, of course is sufficiently open-minded to allow any one to express his judgment when he gives everybody else the same privilege of expressing theirs. I mention this because I want to say something later.

Article 14 of the League covenant provided that the World Court should be revived, and whatever dispute there was on the covenant as a covenant for a new plan in that League of Nations, there was no dispute on the proposed court. Article 14, provided that there should be an advisory committee appointed to draft a statute and to propose a plan. That advisory committee was composed of ten people. It is wrong to say that that was represented by ten nations; that is not true at all; it was ten people. America was asked to permit Elihu Root, who had been so advanced in the years preceding on this subject, to be a member of the advisory committee. Here is where people make the mistake. They say, Elihu Root on the advisory committee represented America. Not at all; he was not appointed by America. He could not have been removed by America. He was appointed in Europe, upon the consent of America, to represent, not America, but the world, as the others who sat with him did not represent any particular state, but represented the movement in the world.

There were fifty-four states who signed the League of Nations. Here is a proposed court under the League, and when these ten men were appointed, they represented not the ten nations from whence they were appointed, but they represented the nations that were ultimately to be benefited by the movement. So our nation gladly permitted Root to sit with the commission. Mr. Root was asked to draft the statute, which he did, and it was thoroughly discussed. It went to the council of the League. The council after minor changes, sent it to the individual nations for rejection or ratification, and here is where there is so much confusion. It was not sent to the League of Nations to be ratified, it was not sent to the nations who were members of the League of Nations to be ratified, it was sent to the nations to act individually for or against, including those in the League and those out of the League, ourselves included. The nations acted upon it, fifty-four of them. Thirty-five ratified and eleven others signed it.

This is not a court of arbitration; the members are not negotiators; their work is not diplomatic. These are judges; their process is judicial. They sit not as advocates of the nation from which they come, because there are only fifteen of them, and there are nearly sixty nations represented; so that the fifteen that constitute the court are the representation of the world for any nation that is willing to submit its disputes to the court. People have become so confused that this is the product of the League of Nations, therefore to adhere to it places the nation in the League of Nations. Of course, that is absurd. There is nothing at all to that statement.

Now, question was, having seen that court created, having permitted Mr. Root to sit as one of the draftsmen, having permitted the appointment of John Bassett Moore of Columbia University, formerly one of our counsellors connected with the secretary of state's department, easily the best and I think the greatest international law writer that we have within America, Europe asked whether John Bassett Moore could not be permitted to be one of the fifteen, and we of course agreed. What should be our attitude toward it? Does that mean that on the court John Bassett Moore represents the United States? Why, certainly not. With two years gone, the question came to us, what should be our attitude toward this world court, created and now in existence? Shall we adhere to it? In other words, shall we offer financial support in our proportion of obligation, or shall we say that we will have nothing to do with it?

Is it American in origin. It started in 1899. It was advanced in 1907. It was perfected in 1919. It was, of course, suggested by American representatives in 1899; suggested again by American representatives in 1907. I do not know who recommended it in 1919, but I do know that it is Article 14 of the League of Nations. Is that sufficient grounds for America to say, we will have nothing to do with it, simply because it has been recommended by the League, out of which we are. That is for the people to decide if the opportunity ever comes to make the decision.

President Harding thought we ought to adhere to it. It is no tale out of school to say that in conference with him I strongly urged him to take that step. I did it because of the attitude of the United States. Of course, if I were speaking consistently with the party that the President belongs to, I would have to remind the people that in 1904 that party in its national platform openly pronounced for arbitration. It repeated it in 1908; it repeated it in 1912, and in 1916 it specifically in words pronounced for the world court; and in 1920, when the League of Nations became an issue, that party pronounced against the League and pronounced in favor of the court. That was the position of the candidate who is now President of the United States. So it struck me that while it would not be a political asset, it would not win any votes from the opposite party and it would lose votes from the party to which the President belonged, yet in my judgment it is right, and on a great issue like that men ought not to stand on political expediency, even though it may be temporarily unfortunate. Consequently the President made the suggestion that we adhere.

Ladies and gentlemen, simply because the United States did not enter the League of Nations it does not mean that the United States is going to with hold its support of the good that the League of Nations will accomplish. The truth about the matter is that the League of Nations created a commission to start an organization to prevent if possible epidemics. We were asked whether we would assist in it, and our government appointed Doctor Blue, connected with the government public health, as an unofficial government representative to aid in this movement. The truth is, the League of Nations inaugurated a commission to stop traffic in women and children. Our country was appealed to, and our country assigned Miss Abbott, probably as able a woman as we have in Washington, to assist in consultation and advice wherever she could.

You recall that there has been an effort to suppress the opium traffic and poisonous drugs. That started with the League of Nations. The United States is giving her influence by the appointment also of a consulting representative upon that commission. It does not mean that because we did not enter the League of Nations, and probably, and I think certainly, will not enter it, we will have nothing to do with what is going on for the benefit of the world. That being true, the question comes to us, whether we are free on this movement toward the world court to give our adherence . Mediation and arbitration have been tried. They are good but not good enough. The court that is to be a judicial body is on trial. My conscience says that we ought to support it financially. The President has put it this way: He recommended to the Senate that we adhere to the court, and that it must be done upon certain reservations; first, that it does not involve coming in or under the League of Nations in any way; second the judges must be appointed in consultation with the United States; third, no change of the rules of the court without the consent of the United States; fourth, and this was the thing that moved us, we will financially bear our share of the burden to support such a movement that will be in continuous existence so that if any dispute comes up and we see our way clear we will submit the dispute to a judicial process rather than war.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, make this very sharp distinction. It is not compulsory, and while a friend of mine, whose name is seen in print almost every day, fighting the movement, says that it has no teeth in it, therefore he is opposed to it because there is nothing to enforce it, I recall that same person opposed the League of Nations because it did have some element of force in it. The difficulty with some of us is, we can never agree with ourselves. I wanted to make this statement so nobody can misapply it. If the court was obligatory the United States would not adhere to it and I should certainly oppose it, because we have not reached the place where the United States can be forced to submit any question that might come up to some court. The provision is that only disputes are submitted that are agreeably submitted by both parties. If one of them says "No," then of course it is not submitted. You say then, why have it? Why have it? For the simple reason that if there is a place to submit a dispute that gives a cooling off time, and Mr. Bryan said that nine-tenths of these troubles could be

avoided if you could just keep the fellows from fighting long enough to cool off. I think there is a great deal of truth in that statement. Whenever you prevent war that is not a negative value. That is a positive achievement. If you go into war, destruction is a positive evil, and if we get any good out of it, usually there will be some good out of war, it is always of a negative character. When you prevent war, that is a positive value, a positive accomplishment, because every war prevented is a discipline of practice of mental decision in favor of peace, and you ultimately will cultivate that spirit of peace that becomes the habit of mind and that will become the ruling element of a community, and if we could some way create agencies by which we could prevent wars, the very prevention of them ultimately would produce such a concensus of organized opinion, such a body of conviction that war would be wonderfully lessened. While I have not any hope that we will reach the place where no war will be visited upon the world, yet I do know that by using reason we can prevent wars in many cases, and in that degree you have lifted the level of intelligence and ultimately we may be able to entirely prevent war by substituting a judicial process for settlement instead of the arbitration of the sword. Consequently, as a Senator of the United States, called upon to act officially upon questions of this kind, I am very free to say that while having resisted the original covenant, and would today, I am free to say that I shall give every ounce of the influence that I have to induce the United States to substitute judicial process to settlement of disputes instead of going to the brutal methods of war.

THE NORTHWESTERN CAREER OF JEFFERSON DAVIS.

By Milo M. Quaife.

To the career of Jefferson Davis, leader of the Confederacy in the greatest Civil War the world has yet witnessed, much study has been given, and it might reasonably be supposed that little information concerning his life remains to be disclosed. Yet his numerous biographers have all passed lightly over one important period, covering half a dozen years of his early manhood, and the little they have set down is of questionable validity. To this lost chapter in his career my paper is devoted.

The reason for the lost chapter's existence is simple enough. Davis was born in Kentucky, his mature life was passed as a citizen of Mississippi, and he is commonly remembered as the leader of his section in the war for the destruction of the Union. In short, his career seems wholly identified with the south, and all of his biographers have been southern men. That he spent five years following his graduation from West Point in the northwest, chiefly at the army posts of Fort Crawford and Fort Winnebago, is, of course, well known to them. But written records pertaining to this period of his life are few and scattered; while the biographers, far removed from the scene, have been ignorant alike of the local geography and the local lore which has been handed down. Thus handicapped, they have passed lightly over this period of Davis' life, contenting themselves for the most part with a more or less accurate repetition of the narrative recorded by Mrs. Davis in her two volume *Memoir* of her husband.

My own study promises no novel or startling revelations. From the vantage point of familiarity with the local geography and access to the local sources of information, however, I have endeavored to assemble and correlate critically what is yet to be known of Davis' life in the Northwest—with what success, must be left to the judgment of my readers.

Over the life of Davis prior to his advent in the Northwest we may pass with but few words. He was born in Christian, now Todd County, Kentucky, in June, 1808; three years later his family removed to southwestern Mississippi, and until he was sixteen years of age young Davis lived alternately in these two states. Several of these years were spent in school in his native state, the last two or three as a student of Transylvania University at Lexington. In the summer of 1824, which may be taken as marking the close of his boyhood, Davis, was appointed to a cadetship at West Point. Thereupon he left unfinished his course at Transylvania and went to the military academy, where he graduated in the spring of 1828. After a vacation of several

JEFFERSON DAVIS

Supposed Picture of Jefferson Davis in Early Manhood.

months, spent in Mississippi, the young soldier repaired to Jefferson Barracks, near St. Louis, then the western headquarters of the United States army, and from here he was shortly ordered to Fort Crawford, Michigan Territory, whose site is better known to the present generation as Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin.

The principal reliance of Davis' biographers for the period of his northwestern career which was thus initiated has been the material set forth by Mrs. Davis in the first 160 pages of her *Memoir*. Since I shall have much to say about this work, it will be well to take some account of it here. For that portion of her husband's life on which she wrote from personal knowledge, the author was fitted, presumably, to speak with authority. She first became acquainted with Davis in December, 1843,[1] over ten years after the termination of his northwestern career, at the beginning of which in 1828 she had been but an infant. For the period of his life before her marriage,[2] therefore, Mrs. Davis drew upon various writings left by her husband, on the recollections of certain of his old-time friends, and on her own remembrance of things she had heard him relate during their years together. The numerous gaps in the story which still remained she endeavored to fill in as best she might by resort to various printed sources of information.

The work produced by these methods is of uneven value and highly inaccurate and confusing.[3] The portions of it which reproduce the writings of Davis himself are, of course, of prime importance, but even these have been handled in such fashion that the reader is frequently at a loss to know what to make of them. As for the author's contribution, she had little knowledge of the geography involved and less, if possible, of the sequence of events. Events of 1832 are jumbled indifferently with those which actually occurred in 1827, and the author's pen wanders from the forests of Wisconsin to the parched prairies of the Southwest and back again without even knowing, oftentimes, that such a seven-league journey has been taken. Mrs. Davis was, indeed, aware to some extent of the shortcomings of this portion of her work, and on one occasion she conscientiously apologizes for it, characterizing it as "very mixed and at times nearly unintelligible"; pleading in extenuation that with the meager sources of information at her command she could do no better.[4] To subject such a narrative to critical analysis is as needless as it would be ungracious;[5] but unfortunately those who have since assumed to write of Davis' career have been less mindful of the defects of the *Memoir* than was Mrs. Davis herself. In the general absence of other sources it has been made the quarry even of trained historians, and hence has become a fruitful source of error about the early years of the man whose career it was written to memorialize.

We will have occasion to return to Mrs. Davis' narrative, but having gained some conception of its character we may endeavor to consider in due order the events of Davis' northwestern career. The Prairie du Chien to which he came near the close of 1828 was a straggling village, already of considerable antiquity, with a nondescript population in which were represented all degrees of social development from sheer savagery to a highly cultured civilization. Fort Crawford, built in 1816 and abandoned for a period of several months during 1826

and 1827, but regarrisoned following the Winnebago War of the latter year, was a decaying structure of logs commanded by Colonel Willoughby Morgan of the First U. S. Infantry. From time immemorial Prairie du Chien had been a natural center of trade and intercourse among the red men, and between them and the whites. It was, therefore, a place of considerable commercial and governmental importance. In the summer of 1829 it was the scene of a notable Indian treaty, to conclude which hundreds of white and red skins assembled, for the second gathering of its kind within the space of four years. These things aside, it was a veritable frontier of civilization, the life at which for the cultivated West Point officers must have been dull to the point of distraction.

Caleb Atwater, who visited Prairie du Chien in 1829 as one of the commissioners to negotiate the treaty of that year, protests feelingly against the practice of the War Department of keeping officers continuously on the frontier. All, he thought, who had been there ten years or longer ought to be instantly relieved. For them and their wives who reared families and maintained the processes of civilization in these isolated posts under every conceivable discouragement, Atwater has only words of warmest praise and admiration. The testimony of Latrobe, the English traveler, and Charles Fenno Hoffman, the New York author and editor, both of whom visited Fort Crawford about the close of Davis' stay there, is of similar purport to that of Atwater. That Davis did his part during his first sojourn at Fort Crawford in upholding this reputation of the officers' circle for social cheer and charm may safely be taken for granted; that he performed creditably the duties which fell to him as a junior officer of the garrison may also be presumed. But his stay at Fort Crawford was soon interrupted, and saving certain stories of a reminiscent character which were handed down as family tradition and found their way into print at various times subsequent to the Civil War, we have practically nothing concerning him that certainly pertains to this period.

The Winnebago outbreak of 1827 had opened the eyes of the authorities at Washington to the fact that the existing garrisons in the Northwest (Fort Armstrong, on Rock Island, Fort Snelling, near modern St. Paul, and Fort Howard at Green Bay) were inadequate to control the vast extent of country west of Lake Michigan and north of St. Louis. The forts at Chicago and Prairie du Chien were regarrisoned, therefore, and it was determined in addition to build a new fort at the Fox-Wisconsin portage in the heart of the Winnebago country. Accordingly, in September, 1828, Major David E. Twiggs led three companies of troops from Green Bay to the Portage, and began the erection of temporary quarters.[6] We learn from a letter written by this officer on December 29, following, that nothing had as yet been done toward erecting the permanent quarters, although considerable lumber and other material had been gotten out. Presumably the work of construction was prosecuted the following season, for Major Twiggs, in the letter alluded to, expressed confidence in his ability to complete the work in November, 1829, and Mrs. Kinzie, who came to the fort to reside in the autumn of 1830, seems to have found the structure complete.[7]

To Fort Winnebago late in 1829, according to Mrs. Davis and Professor Dodd,[8] came Jefferson Davis for a stay which extended until some time in the year 1831. In several of the biographies Davis is represented as the builder of the fort, and this is cited as an evidence of his ability, and of its early recognition by his commanding officer. The fact is clear, however, that whatever credit attaches to the building of Fort Winnebago belongs to Major Twiggs, who was in command of the post from the beginning. Equally clear is the part taken by Davis in the enterprise. A subordinate officer of the garrison (he was a brevet 2nd lieutenant at the time), he had the immediate oversight of a party of soldiers which was sent out to procure logs for the work. Davis himself, in 1872, in response to an inquiry from his old-time friend, Senator George W. Jones of Dubuque, wrote a clear and interesting account of his share in the work, in a letter which seems to have eluded the search of all his biographers.[9] "In 1829," it states, "I went to Fort Winnebago and was put in charge of the working parties to obtain material for the construction of blockhouses, barracks and stores. Gen. (then Capt.) W. S. Harney was sent with his company to the pine forest high up the Wisconsin river, another party was sent to the maple, ash, and oak forest on the Baraboo river. Both parties used the whip saw, and being among wild Indians were, doubtless, objects of wonder. When the timber procured on the Wisconsin was brought down to the portage of the Wisconsin and Fox, the former river was so full that its waters overflowed its banks, and ran in a broad sheet into the Fox river. Taking advantage of the fact, we made rafts suited to the depth of the water and floated the lumber across to the site of the fort, on the east bank of the Fox river."

Of the life at Fort Winnebago during the years Davis was stationed there many records have been preserved. The garrison circle numbered during the next two years a surprisingly large proportion of men who, like Davis, won distinction in after years. Buried in this obscure wilderness post they little foresaw as they raised their voices in the chorus of Benny Havens, the old West Point melody,

In the army there's sobriety,
Promotion's very slow.

the opportunities for promotion and fame that the Mexican and Civil Wars would open to them.

Perhaps the most interesting description of life at Fort Winnebago in this period is the one contained in Mrs. Kinzie's book, *Wau Bun.* The author, a talented New England woman, came as a bride to the place in 1830 and the contents of her book, which was published a quarter of a century later, chiefly pertain to her three year's residence here. But little is said by Mrs. Kinzie which directly concerns Davis; one interesting item, however, describes the furniture which had been fashioned under his direction for the rooms of the officers' quarters. In the sleeping room was a huge bedstead, "of proportions amply sufficient to have accomodated Og, the king of Bashan, with Mrs. Og and the children into the bargain." More interesting still was a three-compartment structure of marvelous architecture which had been designed to supply the absence of clothespress, china closet, and storeroom. In

honor of its projector this was christened by those who used it a "Davis".

A question of some interest, in view of the character of certain stories set afloat in Wisconsin thirty years later, pertains to Davis' personal habits and conduct. "There was some drinking and much gambling at Fort Winnebago," writes Mrs. Davis, "but Mr. Davis never did either." If Davis actually told his young wife this, the recording angel, let us hope, has long since forgiven him. More to the point is the statement of Turner, the historian of the fort.[10] "I have heard it remarked by those who knew him here that he had no liking for the amusements to which officers, as well as private soldiers, resort to relieve the tedium of camp life; but that he was ever engaged, when not in active service, in some commendable occupation."

More interesting still is a suggestion contained in the diary of Rev. Cutting Marsh,[11] the missionary to the Stockbridge Indians: "Wrote to Lieut. Davis, Fort Winnebago. Contents t(he) letter: First t(he) bill of the Bibs &c. Second, urged t(he) importance of his inquiring whether he could not do something for t(he) moral renovation of t(he) soldiers at t(he) Ft. Love & gratitude to t(he) Sav(ior) sh(oul)d induce it immediately. Although alone, he sh(oul)d not feel a sufficient excuse for declining to make an effort. David went alone against his foe, & t(he) defier of the army of Israel, but in t(he) name of t(he) Ld. of hosts, & he conquered. God has something without doubt for you to do in thus bringing you, as you hope, to t(he) knowledge & to t(he) acknowledgement of t(he) truth as it is in Jesus. It was but a few years ago when Christians began to make t(he) inquiry respecting seamen as a very few do now respecting our military posts, and behold t(he) results!"

The reply of Davis to this Macedonian call is not a matter of record, but Mrs. Kinzie makes it clear that of religious interest or observance at Fort Winnebago there was very little. Recently from the East and an enthusiastic church woman, she vainly endeavored to persuade the inmates of the garrison to assemble on Sunday for religious service. "I approached the subject cautiously," she writes, "with an inquiry to this effect:

"Are there none among the officers who are religiously disposed?"

"Oh, yes," replied the one whom I addressed, "there is S————. When he is half tipsy he takes his Bible and Newton's Works, and goes to bed and cries over them; he thinks in this way he is excessively pious.'"

From Fort Winnebago Davis made numerous journeys to surrounding points. One of the first of these was the logging assignment up the Wisconsin, in connection with which a local tradition still persists that he rode one of the first rafts of logs ever piloted through the surging waters of the famous dells of the Wisconsin. One Wisconsin pioneer recalled in old age that Davis made many journeys to Dodgeville to attend social gatherings and asserted that for nearly half a century he was well remembered by the older residents of the place.[12] An excursion that is better authenticated led him to Chicago in the autumn of 1829. In after years Davis looked upon himself as the discoverer of the Four-Lakes country, and believed that his was the first overland

journey to be made by white men between the Fox—Wisconsin Portage and Chicago.[13] A member of the Fort Dearborn garrison at this time was Lieutenant David Hunter. Looking out from the fort one morning in 1829, where now swirls the greatest tide of humanity borne by any bridge in the world, Hunter perceived on the north side of the river a white man. Wondering who the stranger could be, he entered a small canoe, intended for but a single person, and paddled across to interview him. It proved to be Davis, and inviting him to lie down in the bottom of the canoe Hunter ferried him across to the post. The passage of time was to work a strange transformation in the relations between the occupants of that little boat in this voyage across the placid Chicago. In May, 1862, Hunter, now a Major-General in command of the Department of the South, issued an order emancipating the slaves in the states of Florida, Georgia and South Carolina, and he followed this up by organizing the first negro regiment for service in the Civil War. Davis, as president of the Confederacy, responded with a proclamation of outlawry against Hunter, threatening in the event of his capture by the Confederate forces to put him to death as a felon. Again the hand of time moved on, and the spring of 1865 witnessed the spectacle of Davis manacled in a dungeon, charged with instigating the assassination of President Lincoln, while Hunter served as president of the military commission which sat in judgement on the Lincoln conspirators.

Precisely when Davis' stay at Fort Winnebago terminated and his second sojourn at Fort Crawford began, seems impossible certainly to determine. The clearest evidence I have found on this point is supplied by Davis himself in the letter of 1872 to his friend, George W. Jones of Dubuque, which has already been alluded to. In this he states that at the outbreak of Indian hostilities in 1831 he joined the command of General Gaines at Rock Island, and after the treaty of that year was ordered to Prairie du Chien. The campaign referred to occurred in June, 1831, when General Gaines with ten companies of regulars compelled Black Hawk's band to abandon their village at the mouth of the Rock River and agree to withdraw permanently to the west side of the Mississippi. The campaign ended with the signing of the treaty on the last day of June, yet the diary of Cutting Marsh, from which we have quoted above, places Davis at Fort Winnebago on July 25 of this year. A possible explanation of the conflicting evidence would be that after the close of Gaines' brief campaign Davis returned to Fort Winnebago for a short time before being transferred to Fort Crawford.[14]

Subsequent to the campaign with Gaines, apparently in the summer or autumn of 1831,[15] Davis was dispatched by Colonel Taylor to the lead mines at Dubuque to take charge of a difficult situation. A large number of miners had crossed to the west side of the river and in defiance of the prohibition of the government had staked out many claims while the land still belonged to the Indians. Another officer, Lieut. George Wilson, had been sent down with a squad of soldiers to evict the trespassers but the latter were numerous and determined and the officer was compelled to retire without accomplishing anything. In this posture of affairs Davis was dispatched

with a larger body of soldiers to eject the miners from the country. Although Davis had the requisite force at his command, he chose to employ persuasion. In the first public address of his life, according to Mrs. Davis, he informed the miners that the command must be obeyed. He explained, however, that their eviction was but temporary, and as soon as the requisite arrangements could be made for the extinction of the Indian title they would be free to return. Meanwhile, he volunteered to secure to each man the lead, or claim, he had staked out, by exerting his influence to this end with Captain Legate, the United States superintendent of the lead mines. This sensible program met the approval of the squatters, who withdrew peaceably to the east side of the river.[16] Davis remained at Dubuque for some time, watching over the miners and the Indians. In a conversation with Charles Aldrich of the Iowa Historical Society, almost at the close of life, he recalled by name many of the early settlers of Dubuque, and related various interesting incidents connected with his service there.

With the spring of 1832 Davis secured a furlough from his regiment for the purpose of paying a somewhat extended visit to his former home and relatives in Mississippi. Before he had time to depart, however, the invasion of Illinois by Black Hawk began; the garrison at Fort Crawford was called into the field, of course, and Davis was with it throughout the campaign, serving in the capacity of adjutant to Colonel Taylor. Pushing up Rock River, the regulars reached Dixon about the middle of May, whence Davis was dispatched to Galena to assist in bringing order out of the confusion which had been precipitated there in connection with the efforts of militia officers to organize the miners for military service. Returning to Dixon from this service, Davis remained there with his command until June 27, when the northward advance of the army was resumed. The followers of Black Hawk, outnumbered and famishing, were now only seeking to escape their pursuers; the retreat led over the present site of Madison, across the beautiful University grounds, and on to the Wisconsin river on the western boundary of Dane County. Here the warriors were overtaken and Black Hawk fought a rearguard engagement, known as the battle of Wisconsin Heights. Although but a small affair, it was the first engagement Davis ever witnessed, and the generalship displayed by the red leader made a great impression upon him. Over half a century later, with his mind stored with experiences of the Mexican and Civil wars, he described it as "the most brilliant exhibition of military tactics that I ever witnessed—a feat of most consummate management and bravery, in the face of an enemy of greatly superior numbers." "Had it been performed by white men," he continued, "it would have been immortalized as one of the most splendid achievements in military history."[17] This characterization more than confirms the modest claim of Black Hawk, made in writing his biography, that "whatever the sentiments of the white people in relation to this battle, my nation, though fallen, will award to me the reputation of a great brave in conducting it."

The pursuers again caught up with their quarry on the bank of the Mississippi. This time an armed steamboat lay in the river to prevent the Indians from crossing and in the battle of Bad Axe, fought on August 2, Black Hawk's band was practically annihilated. This action ended the war, and the next day the regulars descended the river to Prairie du Chien. Here Black Hawk was shortly delivered to Colonel Taylor by some Winnebago Indians, in whose country he had sought refuge after the overthrow at Bad Axe. The task of conveying the prisoner to Jefferson Barracks was committed by Colonel Taylor to Davis. At Galena a crowd of sightseers boarded the boat, intent on gloating over the fallen foe. But Davis interposed to protect him from this humiliation, winning thereby a dignified tribute of gratitude from Black Hawk when he composed his autobiography a year or two later.

At Jefferson Barracks Black Hawk was committed to prison for a brief time, and then taken on an extended tour of the East, in the course of which he seems to have become something of a social lion. Davis returned to Fort Crawford, whence, at some time during the autumn, apparently, he was sent to Yellow River, a few miles away, to assume control of a detachment of soldiers engaged in getting out lumber for use at Fort Crawford. This assignment and the one of 1829 at Fort Winnebago comprise the sum of Davis' lumbering experiences in the Northwest, concerning which many inaccurate and extravagant statements have been made. Their general tenor is conveniently summarized in the statements made on the subject by Mrs. Davis in the *Memoir*. Of the first experience, she says that in the spring of 1829 her husband was sent from Fort Crawford to the vicinity of modern Menominee on the Red Cedar River,[18] to cut logs for repairing the fort. Amid many perils the work was prosecuted throughout the winter. At one time the men took to headlong flight when an Indian war party swept into view. One canoe landed, and a warrior came within 12 feet of the spot where Davis lay concealed. Thus in constant peril, with the threat of death hurtling forth from behind every tree or bush,[19] the work was carried on. When the raft was made, the oxen and outfit were placed upon it for the descent to Prairie du Chien; but the swift current sucked the raft into a side current of the Chippewa, where it was broken up and several of the oxen were drowned. Hence the place gained the name of "Beef Slough," famous in the logging annals of Wisconsin at a later day. For a portion of the narrative Mrs. Davis cites a newspaper clipping by "a western Historian whose name was not revealed."[20]

The second lumbering exploit is attributed to the Yellow River, whither Davis was sent in 1831 to superintend the building of a sawmill to be used in getting out timber for the further work of construction at Fort Crawford. He built a "rough little fort," and conciliated the neighboring red men to such an extent that he was adopted into their tribe and given the name of Little Chief. The winter was extremely cold, and Davis was often wet to the skin for hours. The exposure brought on pneumonia, and for months he lay at this isolated place, directing the work as best he might, while emaciated

by disease to such an extent that Pemberton, his negro slave, would carry him like a child from the bed to the window.

Such, briefly summarized, is Mrs. Davis' account of her husband's career as a lumberman in the Northwest. It has been accepted without question by Dodd, who in certain respects has ventured to elaborate upon it.[21] Despite these respectable authorities, however, it may be confidently stated that Davis' actual lumbering career bore but slight resemblance to the one described by them. It is to be observed that Mrs. Davis describes two distinct experiences, one on the Red Cedar River in 1829, and the other on Yellow River in 1831. Davis, himself, in his letter to George W. Jones in 1872, has likewise described two lumbering experiences. The first of these—on the Wisconsin River in 1829, getting out logs for Fort Winnebago—we have already noted. Of the second experience he says, "After the treaty of that year (1831), (I) was ordered to Prairie du Chien and subsequently up the Yellow river, where we (the government) had a sawmill to cut lumber at (for) Fort Crawford. Pine logs were obtained on the Chippewa and rafted to the mill on Yellow river; oak logs were cut around the mill and the lumber of both kinds rafted and boated to the landing at Prairie du Chien. To this extent was I a 'lumberman' in Wisconsin, being then in the U. S. army, and stationed so far beyond the populous regions; the soldiers were the operators, and as an officer my duties were to direct their labor and exercise the other functions belonging to our relation to each other."

This recital is sufficiently clear-cut except for one somewhat puzzling detail. The designation Yellow, as applied by the pioneers to a river, is not very distinctive. Wisconsin boasts no less than three streams of this name, while a fourth enters the Mississippi from the west a few miles above Prairie du Chien. On *what* Yellow River did Davis pursue the lumberman's calling? Of the three Wisconsin streams, one flows into the Wisconsin about fifty miles above Portage; one into the Chippewa a considerable distance above the Red Cedar; and one into the St. Croix, far to the Northwest. With the last of these Davis has never been associated by any one, and it may therefore be eliminated from our problem. Mrs. Davis' ignorance of the geography of the region spared her the trouble of identifying the stream her husband made famous, and she merely speaks of it as "Yellow River;" while Dodd, drawing from her narrative a fairly obvious inference, identifies it as the tributary of the Chippewa. A. J. Turner, the historian of Fort Winnebago, on the other hand, identifies it as the tributary of the Wisconsin. More recently than any of these, Mr. C. E. Freeman, a careful local historian of Menominee, comes forward with the assertion that it was neither Chippewa nor Wisconsin tributary, but the Iowa stream near Prairie du Chien.[22]

The implications from Freeman's conclusion (which to me seems convincing) are fairly obvious. Davis was never on the Chippewa, nor its tributary, the Red Cedar. Mythical therefore become the many statements concerning the arduousness and dangers of his logging exploits in this region. The adoption into the tribe, the danger of massacre, the pulmonary attack and the nursing of faithful Pemberton, if not equally mythical, must all alike be ascribed to some other

Map showing location of three streams called "Yellow River."

time and place than the Yellow River, for Davis was here but a scant half dozen miles away from the sheltering walls of Fort Crawford. If these things were ever in fact related by Davis to his wife, she has failed to state correctly the place and occasion of their occurence.

The lumbering detail on the Yellow River in the autumn and winter of 1832-33 was, so far as our present knowledge goes, Davis' last assignment at Fort Crawford. On March 2, 1833, Congress passed a bill which provided for the organization of a dragoon regiment for service on the western frontier; two days later Davis was commissioned a captain in the new regiment and he shortly set out for Kentucky to recruit a company. On the completion of this mission he repaired to Jefferson Barracks, the appointed rendezvous of the regiment, whose headquarters were presently established at Fort Gibson in modern Muskogee County, Oklahoma. The colonel of the regiment, it is of interest to note, was Henry Dodge of Wisconsin, one of the popular heroes of the Black Hawk War. By him Davis was appointed to the responsible post of adjutant of the regiment. After a year and a half of service, nominally at Fort Gibson but much of the time in the field,[23] Davis resigned his commission to marry and take up the life of a planter in Mississippi. His intended bride was Sarah, the second daughter of Colonel Taylor, whose heart he had won while stationed at Fort Crawford.

Over this courtship and marriage the tongue of gossip has hardly yet ceased to wag. Although Davis would seem from every point of view to have been an eligible suitor for Miss Taylor's hand, her father, for some reason, now unknown, sternly opposed their union.[24] The lovers persisted in their intentions, however, and when in June, 1835, Davis left the service he journeyed to Louisville, where Miss Taylor was visiting, and there at the home of her aunt, Colonel Taylor's sister, the two lovers were married.

The sequel of the union proved tragic enough. The young couple journeyed to Mississippi, where on land adjoining his older brother's estate Davis had planned to make his home. Both were soon seized with fever, however, and on September 15, while the husband lay desperately ill, the bride passed away, singing in her last delirium snatches of a favorite song which she had learned in happier days. Her body rests in a neglected tomb a few miles from Baton Rouge, Louisiana. In the outskirts of Louisville, not far from the scene of her marriage, in a rude tomb in an unkept, lonely cemetery, rest the bones of her distinguished father; while far removed from both the bride he loved and the father he estranged, the body of Davis reposes at beautiful Hollywood in Richmond, in the capital of the Confederacy he labored so enthusiastically to establish.

The circumstances of Davis' marriage, taken in conjunction with his later career as head of the southern Confederacy, were such as to give rise in the Northwest to an infinity of rumor and tradition concerning the union. Practically all of this body of tradition reflects severely upon Davis' honor, the charges and inuendoes ranging from tales of mere elopement to cowardly libertinism and home-wrecking.[25] That all of these stories originated after the events of 1861 is a fairly safe generalization. That they may one and

all be relegated to the realm of myth is a generalization equally safe. Miss Taylor married Davis with the knowledge, though without the approval of her father, at the home of his sister and in the presence of his brother and other close relatives. In a letter to her mother, written on the morning of her wedding day, the bride thanks her father "for the liberal supply of money sent me," and acknowledges his "kind and affectionate" letter. Two months later, in the last letter ever written to her mother, the "best respects" of Mr. Davis are proffered. The bride was a woman of legal age, and however painful may have been the situation created by her father's attitude toward Davis there was nothing in it of dishonor to the latter. Mythical, therefore, are all the stories of homewrecking and elopement, told even yet in Wisconsin;[26] even as the stories from the same period of southern soldiers sending Yankee fingers and toes home to their sweethearts as souvenirs, or those of more recent vintage of German soldiers cutting off the hands of Belgian children are mythical.

In this connection the moment seems opportune to deny once for all the entire crop of stories and legends concerning the supposed infamous conduct of Davis during his years as an army officer in the Northwest. The scandalous tales that are even yet occasionally retailed, particularly in Wisconsin,[27] about him are all alike of the stuff of which dreams are composed. How then, it may be asked, are we to explain their origin? The answer is not far to seek. They are all a consequence of the passions and distorted judgments bred in four years of bitter warfare, in which Davis was the leader of the section against which the Northwest found itself aligned. In the recent World War governments engaged systematically in the business of propagating misinformation, and to this branch of the service is assigned by some enthusiasts the major credit for the outcome of the conflict. The American Civil War witnessed no such systematic organization of propaganda; but since the dawn of history war has ever been the prolific parent of untruth, and to this unhappy condition our Civil War afforded no exception.[28] Whatever may be our judgment with respect to the political views and public acts of Davis, there is no room for doubt in the matter of private character and personal conduct he was a high-minded and chivalrous gentleman.[29]

It remains to note one final act in the tragedy of Davis' life wherein the Northwest played a leading role. The Civil War came on in 1861, due as much to his influence as that of any other living man, and the pioneer region whose first civilized beginnings he had witnessed three decades before poured a host of blue-clad soldiers into the Southland to render abortive his dream of a new nation which should spring from the disruption of the United States. In the spring of 1865 the desperate struggle drew to its dreary close, and the president of the Confederacy fled southward, a fugitive in the land of his birth. The pursuit of the fleeing ruler was led by a detachment of the First Wisconsin cavalry, whose colonel came from Madison, Wisconsin, whose site Davis believed himself to have discovered in 1829. A detachment of Michigan men shared in the final capture, all alike hailing from that region whch had been known during the years of his residence in it as Michigan Territory, and all obeying the orders of the silent man from

Galena, to whom, next to President Lincoln, was due the preservation of the Union. This closing scene in the drama of the Confederacy possesses a broad historical significance. Davis' presidential career was terminated by soldiery from a section of the new Northwest which thirty years earlier he had known as an empty wilderness; so, too, it was the exuberant vigor and determination of this new Northwest, the creation almost wholly of Davis' mature lifetime, which, thrown into the military scale of the Civil War, doomed the Confederacy and rendered the hopes and schemes of its founders an evanescent dream.

JEFFERSON DAVIS NOTES.

By M. M. Quaife.

[1] The author, who was the second wife of Davis, was seventeen years of age at the time of this first meeting.

[2] They were married in February, 1845, when Davis was almost thirty-seven years of age, and the bride eighteen.

[3] My remarks are applied only to the early portion of the *Memoir* covering the years prior to Mrs. Davis' personal acquaintance with her husband. Even the more scholarly of his biographers (of whom Professor Dodd is the chief example) have failed to take account of the scholarly tenuosity of this portion of the *Memoir*, and of the difference in authority with which Mrs. Davis writes of these early years as compared with the later ones. In making these observations I purposely waive the question, which I think might fairly be raised, of the extent to which the *Memoir* is actually the product of Mrs. Davis' pen, rather than that of some unnamed collaborator.

[4] *Memoir*, I, 143-44.

[5] For the evidence in support of my general characterization of it, I refer the reader to the first *160* pages of the *Memoir* itself.

[6] A convenient summary of the history of Fort Winnebago is given by Andrew J. Turner in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XIV, 65-102.

[7] Mrs. John H. Kinzie *Wau Bun, "The Early Day in the Northwest,"* (New York, 1856).

[8] Other evidence points to a somewhat earlier date for Davis' transfer to Fort Winnebago. General David Hunter in 1881 told John Wentworth that he first saw Davis at Chicago in October, 1829, the latter having come from Fort Winnebago in search of deserters. *Fergus Historical Series*, No. 16, 28. Davis himself says, in a letter to James D. Butler in 1885, preserved in the Wisconsin Historical Library: "Fort Winnebago had been occupied but a short time before my arrival there, and I think nothing was known to the garrison about the Four Lakes before I saw them." In the same letter he fixes this date as "the summer of 1829." Both Hunter and Davis, speaking after the lapse of half a century, may easily have been mistaken in such a matter as a date; but in line with their recollection is the clear testimony (to be noted later) that Davis aided in getting out logs for the construction of the fort, and this work seems to have been carried out in the season of 1829.

[9] This letter, written January 5, 1872, I have found printed in the *Milwaukee Sentinel* of February 3, 1891, and there credited to the *Le Mars* (Iowa) *Sentinel*. The editorial introduction states that about twenty years before, an article had appeared in the Dubuque *Times*, entitled "Jeff Davis the first lumberman in Wisconsin." Jones evidently sent a copy of this to Davis with the request that he comment on its accuracy, and the letter before us is his response to this request. The remainder of its contents will be noted farther on in this article.

[10] *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XIV, 75.

[11] This diary is preserved in the Wisconsin Historical Library at Madison.

[12] John Wentworth, in *Fergus Historical Series*, No. 7, 26.

[13] Letter to James D. Butler, cited above.

[14] Another explanation is possible—that Marsh, who was not himself at Fort Winnebago, wrote to Davis in ignorance of the fact that he had been called into active service and was, therefore, no longer at the fort.

[15] It is possible that the episode I am about to describe should be assigned to the autumn of 1832, rather than 1831. I have found nothing which conclusively fixes the date.

[16] For this account I have drawn on Davis' own statements as presented in Mrs. Davis' *Memoir*, and on those made by George W. Jones in the *Davis Memorial Volume* (Richmond, 1890), 48-49.

[17] In this account I have followed the statements of Davis himself, made in an interview with Charles Aldrich, and recorded in *Midland Monthly*, V. 408-9. The battle of Wisconsin Heights was fought by the volunteer detachments of Dodge and Henry, while Davis was, of course, a regular officer, attached to Colonel Taylor's command. In view of these facts, his presence at the battle has been questioned. It is, of course, conceivable that his memory played him false,but it is entirely possible that he may have been present with the militia on detached service (as he was at Galena earlier in the summer) and in view of his detailed account of the affair this alternative seems to the writer the more probable one.

[18] The Red Cedar is a tributary of the Chippewa. Menominee is upwards of 300 miles above Prairie du Chien.

[19] The extreme peril of living on the northwestern frontier is a pronounced obsession with Mrs. Davis. Wandering Indians, even in times of peace, would occasionally commit acts of violence against whites; but the chief danger to travelers proceeded not from the Indians, but from the physical obstacles encountered. The visitor to the Chicago loop is probably in at least as great danger at the hands of gunmen as was the traveler in the Northwest a century ago from the Indians.

[20] Mrs. Davis' account agrees fairly closely with several preserved in Wisconsin local histories, and appears, indeed, to be based upon these.

[21] Others have not hesitated to claim far more. In an address before the National Wholesale Lumber Dealers' Association in Chicago in 1902, R. L. McCormick, a lumberman, and President of the Wisconsin Historical Society, described Davis as "the first lumberman on the Mississippi."

[22] See his careful study, "Two Local Questions," in the Menominee *Dunn County News*, October 14, 1909.

[23] The history of the Dragoon Regiment is told by Louis Pelzer, *Marches of the Dragoons in the Mississippi Valley* (Iowa City, 1917).

[24] Various explanations of this attitude have been advanced, none of them adequate. A more plausible surmise, as it seems to me, is that some now-forgotten garrison intrigue was responsible for it. Such discords between the officers of the frontier posts were painfully common. Davis, himself, though honored by Dodge with the appointment to the post of adjutant of the Dragoon Regiment, was soon on such terms with his colonel that the latter was eager to fight a duel with him. Letter to George W. Jones quoted by Pelzer, *Marches of the Dragoons*, 28.

[25] As illustrative of this type of accusation may be noted the story of Judge Joseph T. Mills in the Milwaukee *Sentinel*, November 10, 1885. Mills came to Fort Crawford to serve as tutor in Colonel Taylor's family about the year 1834. "More unfortunate than Lord Ullen," he says of Colonel Taylor, "when he saw the wild water run over his child, and he was left lamenting, the heartbroken father knew Lieutenant Davis as a professional libertine, unprincipled and incapable of sincere affection for Knox unless he counted the money to which she was an heir presumptive." Mills weaves a narrative, wholly fanciful, of the elopement from Prairie du Chien under the guise of Miss Taylor's going on an innocent fishing excursion to Cassville. Of Mrs. Taylor, he adds: "I do not know that she ever saw her daughter again, in whom her happiness and life was wrapped up. She mourned as Mother Ceres did for Prosperpine, and Jefferson Davis in her view was just as villainous and malignant as the 'gloomy Dis.'"

[26] Within a year or so I have listened to an old resident of Prairie du Chien relate how the window at Fort Crawford through which Miss Taylor climbed on the night of her elopement with Davis had often been pointed out to him in boyhood by his parents and others of the generation preceding his own.

[27] I allude to such stories as the one recorded in N. Matson's *"Reminiscences of Bureau County* (Ill.) (Princeton, 1872), 110-15. Similar recitals are found in the Milwaukee *Sentinel*, November 10, 1895, and November 8, 1869, as well as here and there in various Wisconsin local histories.

[28] Even today the character of President Lincoln is depicted to southern school children as little short of infamous. See, for example, the sketch of his life prepared expressly for their use by Mildred L. Rutherford, Historian General of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, entitled *"Jefferson Davis, the President of the Confederate States, and Abraham Lincoln, the President of the United States,"* 1861-1865 (n. p. 1916).

[29] While preparing this paper my attention was called to the following contribution to the point in question among the Morgan L. Martin papers in the Wisconsin Historical Library. Undated and unsigned, the manuscript is in Mr. Martin's hand, and it seems apparent from the contents, was written about the year 1880. The writer was for a generation one of the leading citizens of Green Bay and Wisconsin:

"It has become so common to read newspaper articles abusive of the private character of Jefferson Davis, that one who has known him well for a period covering his brief service in the United States Army and his subsequent career as a civilian, desires to correct some of the mis-statements which seem to have gained credence. The more semblance of authenticity is given to some of these articles, because for a time in his early manhood Davis was a resident of Wisconsin, where at that time he was well known—a brief statement of fact may help to dispel that illusion.

Jefferson Davis graduated at West Point and joined the First Regiment of U. S. Infantry, a portion of which was stationed at Fort Winnebago, in 1828. The notorious Twiggs was in command, and many of the officers were Southern men, who, with him, embraced the heretics of the Calhoun school of politicians. Davis had just then attained his majority and remained at that post, where his private character was unexceptionable, until transferred to the new Regiment of Dragoons under Colonel Dodge. Zachary Taylor was at the time in command at Prairie du Chien, and there the marriage of Davis and Miss Jefferson (Sarah) Taylor took place against the remonstrance and without the previous consent of the lady's father. Many years afterward, when the veteran Taylor and his son-in-law were thrown together on the battlefield of Mexico, each displaying distinguished gallantry in sustaining the honor of our National flag, they became reconciled and were thenceforth warm friends.

"Jefferson Davis was never stationed at Green Bay and was never here, except on a brief visit to his West Point friends and associates of the Fifth U. S. Infantry, during the winter of 1829. He was always regarded as a generous, hightoned, brave, and chivalrous gentleman. A brilliant political career, as member of both branches of Congress, and as Secretary of War, after acquiring distinction as a soldier during the Mexican War, should at least relieve him from the base charge of being considered a common thief.

"The writer of this article, though condemning unqualifiedly the heresies of Southern politicians, which claimed the sovereignty of the States, denied the unity of our nation and culminated in rebellion against its authority, cannot refuse to admit the unblemished private character of the rebel chief, whom he has known and admired as soldier and citizen for the past fifty years, until the estrangements resulting from the late Civil War."

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN HARRIS.

Edited With Introduction and Notes.

By Mrs. Mary Vose Harris.

Benjamin Franklin Harris of Champaign, Illinois, who died 1905, at the age of 94, was recognized as an eminent stock feeder and banker. He came to Illinois in 1835 when he was 24, and engaged in the business of buying cattle, which he drove to the Eastern markets. After seven years in this business he purchased a farm in Illinois, 18 miles from Champaign, and began the stock feeding business, which he continued until his death, when he was referred to as the "oldest and most successful cattle feeder in the world—"[1] June 21, 1916, his contributions to agriculture were recognized by the addition of his name to "The Illinois Farmers Hall of Fame," at the University of Illinois.

Benjamin F. Harris was an ardent advocate of nationally controlled banks, and soon after the establishment of the national banking system, January 30, 1865, he helped organize the First National Bank of Champaign, and the following year was elected its President. This bank weathered the panic of 1873. During his life time its founder saw its deposits grow from $7,359.65 in 1865 to $831,399.54 in 1905. B. F. Harris remained President of the bank until the end of his life.

B. F. Harris, like most grandfathers, took great pleasure in telling his grandsons the thrilling experiences of the pioneer days. When he was 88 years old, at the urgent request of his namesake, B. F. Harris, II, he wrote his autobiography, which consists of one hundred and fifty hand written folio pages.

As far as it has been possible to determine, he did not keep a written record covering the early portion of his life, but he had in his possession detailed account books, covering the period from 1853 until his death. The lack of written materials for his narrative he supplemented by a strong memory. This trait is illustrated by the following quotation from his personal friend, Judge J. O. Cunningham.

"Benjamin F. Harris' mental characteristics were in many respects to me the most astonishing, especially his memory of facts and events. While with him not two years before his death, when his age was 92, in a professional capacity, it became desirable to know the legal description of many tracts of land owned by him in Champaign and Piatt Counties. To my astonishment, unaided by a single suggestion from any one or from some memoranda in his possession, he gave the exact

[1] Appendix, page 23.

Benjamin Franklin Harris

and correct numbers and part of sections of each and every one of these tracts of land."[2]

Some minor events described in the autobiography, the author placed in the wrong years, and the approximate size of various towns in 1835, when he first came to Illinois, are undoubtedly low, but in each instance where it was possible to check names of individuals, prices of commodities, and events, he was correct. In regard to the methods of business, description of life, facts and events, I think the autobiography can be accepted as authentic.

From this autobiography and some contemporary written material it is possible to give the following history of his life:

B. F. Harris' grandfather was one of three brothers, who emigrated from England to America in 1726 and settled on a farm on the eastern shore of Maryland. The family were of Scotch-English extraction and quakers, in this country becoming fighting quakers, then Methodists. His grandfather, whose name was Benjamin Harris, was an officer with the rank of colonel in the Revolutionary War.[3]

In 1784, he married Miss Rebecca Hickman, a daughter of William Hickman. [4]To them were born ten children:—William H. Harris, January 24, 1786; Rebecca, Benjamin, Sutton, Johack, Thomas, Franklin, Jane and John Billingsley and Lucretia. About the year 1800, his grandfather left Maryland and moved to a farm four miles north of Winchester in Frederick County, Virginia.

On April 4, 1809, William Hickman Harris married Elizabeth Payne, daughter of Henry and Elizabeth Payne. She was a cousin of Dolly Payne, who became Dolly Madison, wife of James Madison, fourth president of the United States. B. F. Harris' mother was present at Dolly Payne's marriage to James Madison.[5]

To Elizabeth Payne Harris and William H. Harris were born ten children:

Henry Payne, born June 13, 1810, married Salley Foley of Springfield, Ohio, January 12, 1837.

Benjamin Franklin, born December 15, 1811, married Elizabeth Sage, June 18, 1841.

John William, born February 13, 1814, married Caroline Hedges Miller, February 15, 1842.

Charles Wesley, born February 1, 1816, married Nancy Jones, August 27, 1840.

Wesley, born August 21, 1821.

Elizabeth Lucretia, born February 27, 1818, married Reverend Grandville Moody, January 19, 1836.

George Wharton, born November 14, 1823, married Lydia Ranaga, September 15, 1852. George became a minister.

Rachel Jane Rebecca, born January 3, 1826, married Reverend William Smith, November 6, 1851.

Mary Catherine, born November 19, 1828, died age fifteen.

James Phelps, born April 2, 1835, died in infancy.[6]

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[2] Letter, Judge J. O. Cunningham to B. F. Harris, II. No date.
[3] Appendix, pages 1-3.
[4] Ibid., 4-7.
[5] Autobiography, B. F. Harris, 1-3.
[6] Family Bible.

Young B. F. Harris grew to manhood on his father's farm four miles north of Winchester in Frederick County, Virginia. He attended the country schools a few months in the winter, helping on the farm the rest of the year. In 1816 his father purchased 250 acres for $64.00 per acre. The terms were $2,000 down, the balance in twelve years, $1,000 a year with 6% interest. By 1827, because of the depressed financial condition of the country, his father found it practically impossible to meet his obligations, as he still owed $7,000 on the farm. He managed to raise two six-horse teams to haul goods from Baltimore to various points over the mountains, for there were no railroads in existence, and the only means of communication between the great cities of the East and the interior towns, was by wagon trains. B. F. Harris, a boy of sixteen, began his business training by taking charge of one of the six-horse teams.[7]

Teaming or wagoning in the pioneer days was a very strenuous business. The mud on the mountain roads was often hub deep, and as there were few bridges the young man had some exciting experiences swimming his team of six horses through swollen streams. However, with all these difficulties, he managed to average 14 to 18 miles a day. The horses, summer or winter were never put in a stable at night, but were tied to the tongue of the wagon.

One trip B. F. Harris made from Baltimore, Maryland, to Zanesville, Ohio, alone, but usually he travelled with his brother Henry, with his team. After each trip the boys returned to their home near Winchester, Virginia, and gave the profits of the trip to their father. Once while crossing the mountains to Dandridge, Tennessee, they met Andrew Jackson, President of the United States, who was returning from a visit to Tennessee. The President stopped and visited with the waggoners a few minutes, complimenting young B. F. Harris on his fine horses.

The boys made contracts with merchants in Baltimore to haul goods to various places in the West for a certain price per hundred weight, with the average load 4,100 pounds. The usual price of hauling from Baltimore to Zanesville, Ohio, Knoxville, Huntsville and Dandridge, Tennessee, was $5.00 per hundred weight. Their contracts often required that the goods be delivered on a certain day, under penalty of $5.00 dockage for each day they were late. They contracted in the West for return loads of ginseng, tobacco, cotton or rags, at the average price of $3.00 per hundred weight.[8]

In March 1832, his father made a contract with the government to haul guns manufactured at the arsenal at Harpers Ferry to Wheeling, where they were to be shipped south and west on the Ohio River. It was possible to make the round trip in about twenty-five days and they cleared $2,000 from the year's contract.

By March 1, 1833, B. F. Harris' father obtained the money to meet his financial obligations. He sold his farm for $28.00 per acre and the same month, in a one-horse gig and a two-horse carry-all, the Harris family set out for Ohio. They arrived at Springfield April 8, and nearby his father purchased a farm at $10.00 per acre. The young man

[7] Autobiography, 6-9.
[8] Autobiography, 9-14.

assisted in improving the farm and building a new house, and after one year on the Ohio farm he decided to begin business for himself. His father proposed "to give him a start" as he had already done for two of his other children, but B. F. Harris, as he was then twenty-three years old, thought he could succeed without this help.[9]

In August 1834, B. F. Harris started on the second phase of his business experience. He was engaged by Mr. James Foley to help drive a drove of three hundred cattle from Clark County, Ohio, to Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. They swam the cattle across the Ohio River, crossed the Alleghany Mountains, passed through Cumberland and Gettysburg, and forded the Susquahanna River. Near Harrisburg, the drove was sold to Mr. Fordice and his partner, Steven Woolery, for $26.00 per head. These gentlemen hired B. F. Harris to help drive the cattle to Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and to assist his salesmen retail the drove to farmers and feeders, to fatten for the spring market.[10] Then they returned to Harrisburg, made report of sales and took charge retailing another drove. In three months, B. F. Harris helped retail 800 cattle, and then he concluded to try the cattle business for himself.

He returned to Ohio, purchased one hundred cattle from Mr. Foley, and started for Pennsylvania the 15th of November. Concerning this trip he wrote, "crossing the mountains it snowed, covered up the grass, I had to buy hay and stalk to feed the cattle for one third of the way when I got to Gettysburg—the ground froze up and I had to lay up for two or three days it was rather discouraging for a new beginner. I stuck to cattle and the third day moved out for Lancaster on the road I met a railroad contractor—this man wished to buy 35 head for beef to feed his men." B. F. Harris, in the next few days, disposed of all the cattle and on this first business venture cleared $980.00.[11]

June 1, 1835, he left Springfield, Ohio, for Illinois, for the purpose of buying cattle. He had three thousand dollars borrowed money, and one thousand of his own. He passed through Dayton, Ohio, and then west to Danville, Illinois. Danville, he says at this time was a place of about twenty little shanties, "Frasier kept Entertainment." He came west to the place where Sidney is now located and spent the night there with a man whose name was George Duck George. Provisions were scarce in this household, and at sunrise the young man started off for Sadorus Grove, about 16 or 18 miles distant, to get breakfast. At this time there were no roads or paths and travellers were instructed to travel from one point of timber to another.[12] B. F. Harris missed the point to which he was directed and came to the Big Grove as it was called, which is the present site of Urbana. There was one cabin in the grove at which he inquired if he could get breakfast. The man of the house replied that they had nothing in the house but boiled corn until he could make a trip to Danville to get a sack of corn ground, but he accompanied B. F. Harris a short distance, and directed him to

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[9] Appendix, 8-15.
Autobiography, 15-16, 126-127.
[10] Autobiography, 18-19.
[11] *Ibid.*, 19-20.
[12] Autobiography, 22.

Sadorus Grove. About two o'clock in the afternoon, he reached the Sadorus cabins, and when they heard that he had not eaten that day, Mr. Sadorus' two daughters "prepared one of the best meals I thought I ever had the pleasure to eat—"[13] he wrote.

It is difficult to picture this section of the state as B. F. Harris found it, and to realize that all this marvelous development came during his life. Eastern Illinois consisted originally of great stretches of prairie, which were covered with a dense growth of prairie grass. An English visitor at Urbana wrote, "From an eminence as far as the eye could comprehend the scene, it traversed the richest undulating fields of grass, almost unbroken by fence, plough or house. We walked some distance up to the knees in the luxuriant herbage."[14] This section forms part of the great maize belt of the continent and its soil is almost unsurpassed in its fertility; it is the result of decay for ages of rank and coarse grasses.

Very little of the prairie land was settled by the early pioneers, who thought it impossible to raise anything on prairie soil. They preferred to cut the trees in the timber, and plant their corn between the stumps. The difficulty of transporting wood to the prairie for building material and fuel, was a real one. As late as 1850 few farms had been opened one mile from the timber. Pessimists among the settlers often prophesized that these prairies would never be settled. The largest bodies of timber were found along the Salt Fork, including the Big Grove, which originally contained 13,000 acres. In point of time the Sangamon River territory was the last to be settled in this section. When B. F. Harris came, there were only eleven families from its source to the eastern boundary of the present Piatt County.[15]

B. F. Harris travelled west from the Sadorus cabins to a point of timber where Monticello is now located, and there spent three days with Mr. James H. Piatt. He wrote, "Mister Piatt told me there was an Eighty Acre lot of fine timber near his place and advised me to buy it. We went out and saw the timber and also got the No. of the eighty acres, and I afterwards entered the land." Next he journeyed to the Sangamon River where he crossed at the trading house, a place "where the Indians traded their furs," he wrote. There a flat boat ferried travellers across the river. He travelled from there to Decatur and thence to Springfield, which he declares, "was a small village about one hundred people and twenty or thirty shanties, a Hotel, a hard looking place."[16]

June 15, 1835, he reached Jacksonville, which he considered was a beautiful place of about fifteen hundred people with "nice" buildings. He purchased 30 head of fine cattle at $14.00 per head from Ex-Governor Duncan, who lived four miles from Jacksonville. The next few days he purchased 50 or 60 head, and next went to Jacob Strawn's, four miles southwest of Jacksonville, who, he asserts, "was the cattle King of the west," who advised him where more cattle were for sale. In a few days, "B. F." Harris finished buying his herd, drove them to Mr. Piatt's where he grazed them a few weeks, then started for Pennsyl-

[13] *Ibid.*, 23.
[14] William Ferguson, *America by River and Rail*, 375.
[15] J. O. Cunningham, *History of Champaign County*, 684.
[16] Autobiography, 24. These figures are undoubtedly low for Springfield.

vania, where the cattle were retailed to feeders. He considered he made a fair profit on the year's work.

He returned to Illinois the fall of the same year and purchased 125 cattle which he wintered near Mt. Vernon, Jefferson County, Illinois. The next April he purchased 150 more and in July drove them to Pennsylvania. In six years he marketed in Pennsylvania, five droves of Illinois cattle.[17]

About December 1st, "Frank Harris," as men called him, usually purchased from 100 to 200 cattle, which he fed during the winter, on shock corn, purchased for ten cents a bushel. The last of April the cattle were turned out on the prairies to graze where "they had a range of 10,000 acres." Two men were kept with them during the day, and they were allowed to range out on the prairie for three or four miles; at night they were gathered in a stalk field or pound. During the winter he usually purchased other cattle in small lots from farmers, to be delivered April first.

By the middle of July or the first of August, assisted by five men, he usually set out to drive the cattle to Pennsylvania. One member of the party was sent ahead to secure pasture for the night, and in the winter feed for the cattle. "Lead cattle," as they were called, apparently were used to control the movements of the drove. They travelled an average of 12 miles a day, and the trip usually required ninety days. At night the cattle were lotted in a pound or stalk field with one man to watch them.

The usual route East was the following:—They swam the cattle through the Kaskaskia River at Vandalia, swam the Wabash at Attica, drove through Muncie, Indiana, Springfield and Columbus, Ohio, swam the Sciota River at Gainesville, drove to Wheeling, swam the Ohio, and crossed the mountains to Cumberland, Hagerstown, Gettysburg, Harrisburg, to Lancaster, Pennsylvania.[18]

In December, 1840, Miss Elizabeth Sage, daughter of Colonel and Amanda Sage, came from Circleville, Ohio, where she had graduated from college, to visit her sister, Mrs. Susan L. Williams, whose home was about two miles from B. F. Harris' boarding place, near Mahomet, Illinois. Miss Sage and "Frank Harris" became acquainted and were married June 17, 1841. B. F. was then 30 years old and his bride 18. B. F. remarks that here he was, "in this country with four hundred and thirty cattle and a wife. I thought I could arrange and take care of my wife and cattle too, thus I kept the cattle on the range and wife at her sisters until the first day of July."[19]

July 1st, 1841, B. F. Harris started for Pennsylvania with a drove of cattle for the seventh and last time. There were four hundred and thirty cattle in the drove, which was the largest number he had ever driven East at one time. He left his wife with her father in Circleville, Ohio and drove the cattle on toward Pennsylvania.[20]

That year there had been a severe drouth in the East which had caused the grass to dry up, and therefore the farmers did not wish to buy cattle. B. F. Harris met many drovers returning from Lancaster

[17] *Ibid.*, 24-25.
[18] Autobiography, 18-36.
[19] Autobiography, 36-37.
[20] *Ibid.*, 36-37.

and Chester Counties, Pennsylvania, who advised him to turn back. Many of them had lost all the profits of three or four years, because, since there was little demand for cattle they were forced to sell at a loss. They advised him to turn back. He wrote, "that I could not do if I drove back I had no place to keep them nor money to buy feed for that many cattle all winter this was a hard lick on me as I thought to lose all I had made in five years as they said they had done."

He decided to go on to Lancaster and hold the cattle until cold weather; then he thought he could sell them to feeders. He remarks, "I concluded to go back to Circleville and bring my wife East—thinking if wife was with me I could hold out longer—we overtook the cattle before they crossed the Susquehanna River I bought a carriage I had two good horses and could keep along go a head and get pasture—"

At Lancaster he divided the cattle into small lots, and kept them for thirty days. It rained in the meantime causing the grass to grow, which created a demand for cattle. Eventually, he sold all at a good price, but since expenses were very heavy, he only cleared a thousand dollars.[21]

He took his wife to Philadelphia for a few days' visit, and the tenth of December, returned to Circleville, Ohio. They then went to his parents' home near Springfield, Ohio, for Christmas, and they urged him to buy a farm near them in Ohio, but he writes, "I concluded—we would go to Illinois and grow up with the country."

They returned to Illinois in February, 1842, to purchase a farm. Their brother-in-law, Mr. Williams, proposed to sell them his farm of 400 acres, his home, household goods and stock. This offer was satisfactory, and this land in Section 31, town 20, North Range, range 7, east of 3d P. M., became the nucleus of the vast land holdings B. F. Harris later accumulated. He now commenced his third business venture, the business of farming and stock feeding, in which he later became nationally recognized, as a leader.

When he purchased the farm from his brother-in-law, there were three double cabins, on the farm, which were built of logs. The floors were made of puncheons split from trees, one side of which was hewed to a plane surface for the upper side of the floor, while the under side was notched to the log sleepers upon which the floor rested. In this way a very solid and durable floor could be made. The roof was made of clap-boards, which were similar to large shingles, but were thicker at the lower edge than the upper, and as they were hewn with an axe were rarely quite true.[22] It formed a very satisfactory roof in summer but in the winter after a snow, it was necessary to shovel out the snow in the loft, before it melted and descended as rain on the family below. The cabins were white-washed inside, and had glass panes in the windows.

Soon after "Frank Harris" moved on the farm, he sent a man to Springfield, Ohio, to buy some supplies. Among these were a cooking stove, and fifty yards of carpet for the puncheon floors. In these three cabins usually eight to ten laboring men lived, besides a large family

[21] Autobiography, 37-39.
[22] Cunningham, *History of Champaign County*, 689; Autobiography, 39.

and numerous visitors. In later years "Uncle Frank" wrote, "I often look back to those four or five years we lived in our cabbeon home that it was among my happiest years of my life indeed I never knew what happiness was until we were married and situated in our new home."[23]

In 1843 he drove some cattle to St. Louis, and brought back a load of groceries of all kinds, enough to last for the year. He wrote, "there no place nearer than St. Lewis to get anything in the grocery line or any other line but we always had plenty to eat and ware, and plenty work to do and we did it—" "I had been from home about twenty-five days the roads was good and I had two good horses and I was rather anxious to see the one I had left behind me. I drove home in four days about one hundred and sixty-five miles this is the weigh I used to do business when I was young."[24]

In August, 1844, they ran short of provisions, especially sugar and coffee. B. F. Harris sent two men with two wagons, drawn by four yoke of oxen each, to Chicago. One wagon was loaded with 50 bushels of wheat, the other with 50 bushels of corn. "There was no road," the autobiography continues, "to lead them to Chicago nor no settlers to stop over night. They struck a be line north until night then camp out in the wide prairie and watch the oxen while grasing and then tyed thim to the wagon until early morning then grase the oxen while they prepaired breakfast they took with them some wood to make a little fire to fry their meat and make coffee they had two large jugs to carrey watter to drink and make coffee they men said they had a nice time in this trip, they arrived in Chicago a town of about two thousand at that time sold the wheet—I gave them money to load the teams back with salt, coffee and especially sugar and rice and all other things we had to have—"[25] "In nineteen days the teams arrived with the groceries the neighbors were all out of coffee and sugar and some other things the day the teams arrive there was as many as twenty men there to get coffee and sugar we divide it all out among the neighbors. Kept what we wanted and parted with all the rest—"[26] "We were well satisfied with our home and lived very happily together, the outlook was very promicen to us. After we had been living together about three years our son Henry Hickman on the twenty-seventh of April 1844 came to live with this added to our happiness."[27]

When B. F. Harris first settled on the Sangamon there were no peach or apple trees, only the wild plum, and the natural fruits of the country. During his second year on the farm, a man came with a load of three year old apple trees, offering to sell him a hundred trees. He wrote, "I told the man I did not have the money by me to buy trees he then propose to trade trees for a cow, I only had one cow and he offered me one hundred trees for the cow. I conculted my wife, and we concluded to let the cow go for the sake of the trees and we might not have a chance again to start an orchard the trade was made he tied the only cow we had behind his wagon and put out—in three years those apple

[23] Autobiography, 40.
[24] *Ibid.*, 40, 41.
[25] Autobiography, 46.
[26] *Ibid.*, 47.
[27] *Ibid.*, 50.

trees bore a few apples—this was one of the best trades I ever made in a small way."[28]

One time on the farm when they happened to be out of sugar, a neighbor discovered a bee tree in B. F. Harris' timber, which they cut down, taking a barrel of honey from the tree. The bees were hived in a nail keg, and that summer they swarmed four times. As there were flowers of all kinds for the bees to feed on, the family enjoyed all the honey it could use.[29]

There was good fishing in the Sangamon River, which was a quarter of a mile from the Harris home. There were pike and redhorse fish in abundance. He had a gig and a canoe, and often gigged fish.[30] There were also many deer in the timber, and he had two large gray hounds, which he used in hunting deer. He wrote, "My wife's Father Col. Henry Sage came to Illinois—the Col. was very fond of hunting deare and fishing. I cawled in a neighbor Wesley Davis who was a great Dear hunter we all started out horse back wife went a long to see the fun we took the dogs they soon started a two prong Buck—the Dear came along near Davis in full speed. Davis let fly at the dear—well we took up the rope and tried the Dear to the Horses tale and mad for the cabbins—"[31] As late as 1855, according to the Urbana Union of February 15, a party of six or eight men went deer hunting, and returned with five large deer. In 1857, August 27, this same newspaper declares several people near Urbana saw a bear.

Rattlesnakes were very numerous on the farm, as an English visitor relates, "As we were walking about among them, (the cattle), one of our party called out, 'there's a snake,' and sure enough there lay a rattle-snake, three or four feet long, coiled up, and with elevated head, hissing and shaking his rattling tail. Our herd boy friend soon made an end of him, planting one heel upon him, he stamped him to death with the other. The rattle, which was carried off in triumph, had eight rings, betokening a serpent of ten years. The boy said he had killed probably fifty of them. They sometimes bite the cattle, then whiskey and tobacco is applied, and this allays the inflammation. It is affirmed, there is no authenticated instance of any one in Illinois having ever died from the bite of one of these prairie rattle-snakes."[32]

The early settlers often celebrated the Fourth of July in the grove near the Harris home. He wrote, "We made extensive prepositions to have a big time we dug a pit about eight feet long and four feet wide filled it with small logs burned them to red hot coles. I gave a beef, the beef was slaughtered the day before and quartered and the quarters were hung over this bed of coals in eavening and attended to through the night and by noon on the fourth we had the finest feast of roast beef all said they had ever eaten we had plenty of bread, coffee and other things the table we had arranged was about a hundred feet long all had plenty som came as far as twenty-five miles we had speeches and songs and the Declaration of Independence red."[33]

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[28] Autobiography, 44.
[29] *Ibid.*, 47.
[30] *Ibid.*, 50.
[31] *Ibid.*, 48-49.
[32] William Ferguson, *American by River and Rail*, 377.
[33] Autobiography, 61.

In "Frank Harris" business of buying cattle on a cash basis, it was necessary for him to carry large sums of money on his person, which in those days was very dangerous. On his first trip to Illinois in 1835 he carried $4,000 in cash in a belt, with pockets the entire length, a button on each pocket and the belt buckled around his body. He stopped in Dayton at a tavern, and went to bed with belt around him. At twelve o'clock a man entered the room, came to the bed feeling around. Our author said, "What do you want he sais your in my bed he says I always sleep in this bed and he just crawled in. I understood the whole plan at once—when this fellow would move or change his position I would speak to him to be quiet and let me sleep. I did not sleep any that night—just at day break this fellow got out of bed and went out of the room—I have thought of that narrow risk I ran—by telling him I had money to buy a drove of cattle I was smartly green and very slowly recovered but got away from Swaneys all safe and struck out for Illinois."[34]

In April, 1839, B. F. Harris was riding from Mt. Vernon to Fairfield to buy cattle, and a man he had met at the last inn accompanied him. While they were crossing the Skillet Fork of the Wabash his companion crossed first. The autobiography relates, "I saw a handle of a long knife sticking up from his coat collar—I said him what you carry knife he said yes and he pulled the knife from the scabbard the concealed down his back under his coat a knife with blade about eight inches long—I alwase go armed havent you arms on your person—told him yes pulled out my pistol and told him I could shoot a man fifty yar distant and told him I was on the watch all the time—"[35] That evening returning from Fairfield he saw his travelling companion of the day in the distance, travelling a road which entered some timber. The road he himself was travelling entered the same piece of timber, but he wrote, "Knowing I had a good horse—he could not reach the road in time to head me off—I gave my horse all the speed that was in him until I reached the first house."[36]

Another time, some men came to Kirby's Tavern in Mt. Vernon, where he was staying, who told him that there was a man, who must have a certain amount of money that evening, in order to make good a preemption claim which expired the next day and get the deed for his land, and who was willing to sell fifteen young oxen at the buyer's price. "Frank Harris" started for the man's home some eight miles north on a narrow road with "Jack Timber" on either side, when suddenly he realized that this probably was a trap to rob him. He jumped his horse over a rail fence, and rode through the fields to a cabin in the distance. The men had made an elaborate plan to trap him but fortunately he escaped.[37]

In 1850 he met a man in Monticello who paid him $3,000 for a drove of cattle. He left Monticello, about 12 miles from his home, late in the evening. He wrote, "riding through the timber my horse suddenly threw up his head in fright there was a moon light nite I look as the horse had notifyed me and saw a man with a gun standing beside

[34] *Ibid.*, 20-21.
[35] Autobiography, 26-27.
[36] Ibid., 28-29.
[37] Autobiography, 30-32.

a large tree—about fifty yards a head of me I whealed my horse like lightning and road back about a half mile took east and went round through the field home came in the back way—I beleave and always have through the providence of God I always have made my escape for which have always felt greatful to my Heavenly Father for the preservation of my life." "I have had many narrow risks in doing the traveling and business I was engaged in."[38]

With the many dangers and hardships in the early pioneer days, there was also much sickness. In the winter in 1840, the year of his last trip east with cattle he was living with a Mr. Marquist on Goose-creek when he became very ill. They sent to Decatur, 25 miles away, for Dr. King, who took him in his buggy to Decatur to the Widow Nesbit's Hotel, where he lay sick with typhoid fever for six weeks.[39] "At that early day," the autobiography records, "there was much Billious Fever Meumonia, Chills and fever and malaria to contend with. I spent two or three years here before settling down in life, and thus had a good opportunity of looking into these various diseases—"[40] "While at my father's home in Ohio I went with Dr. Rogers of Springfield, Ohio, to a drug store. The doctor selected such medicines as he thought proper to use in the diseases of this new country. The medicine was put in bottles which we had painted black and then carefully labeled them. I then bought McIntoish's medical book and after footing up bill for medicine and book found it to be forty dollars, when I settled in my home here I was as you see well equipped to care for my family and neighbors which I did for five of six years before a regular physician came into the county and quack doctor as I was, I have the pleasure of remembering in those years I never lost a patient."[41]

"Frank Harris" while busy settling his farm in this new country, did not neglect the church or educational needs. He is quoted as saying, "The church business was looked after as well as any other business. I never lost anything by looking after the church and school."[42] In 1843, a pioneer preacher and his wife stopped at his cabin, and asked if they could spend the night there. "I told him they could stay with us. We had been living there one year and that was the first time the Gospel had passed our way and we was glad to see a minister in our home." The minister consented to remain a few days and conduct a two-day meeting for the neighborhood. An empty cabin on the farm was furnished with seats constructed from slabs, in which legs were stuck, and twenty or more persons came eight or ten miles to this log house, which was the first religious service that was ever held in the western part of the county.[46] This minister was the distinguished Peter Cartwright.

Soon after this, Reverend Mr. Moser, who lived in Bloomington, came once a month to the Harris cabins to conduct religious services. The cabin became too small to accommodate the congregation, and several neighbors assisted in building a small house. In 1850 "Frank Harris" helped organize one of the first Sunday Schools in Champaign

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[38] *Ibid.*, 56-57.
[39] Autobiography, 34-35. Appendix, 15.
[40] *Ibid.*, 68.
[41] *Ibid.*, 69.
[42] J. R. Stewart, *A Standard History of Champaign County.* Vol. II, p. 249.
[43] Autobiography, 41-42.

County, sending to Chicago for Sunday School books and papers.[44] In 1857 this building became too small; a new church was built, the old church being converted into a school house.[45] The new church, called Bethel Chapel, was forty-four by thirty-two feet and about fourteen feet high. There were four windows on each side, and two in the end. The pulpit and altar were carpeted.[46] It required about three months to complete the building, the costs of which our author paid. When it was complete Reverend Grandville Moody of Ohio, his brother-in-law, dedicated it, at which time some thirty persons united with the church. "Frank Harris" was superintendent of the Sunday School and class leader until he moved to Champaign.[47] Among the early pastors of this church, which was in Mahomet Circuit, were Reverend A. S. Goddard, Reverend J. A. Brittingham, Reverend L. C. Pitner, Reverend J. C. Rucker, Reverend A. R. Garner, Reverend C. F. Hecox and Reverend A. Bradshaw.[48]

In 1852 the Urbana Male and Female Seminary was organized, nominally under the patronage and control of the Methodist Church.[49] B. F. Harris contributed liberally to this seminary, and his children attended this school, when they finished school on the farm.[50]

In 1843 when "Frank Harris" had his first wheat and hay harvest, the men hired to help wished whiskey which it was customary to give laborers. He refused this, but agreed to give each man 12½ cents a day extra in place of the whiskey. He writes, "I never had whiskey in my field or house on any occasion except only as a medicine and have stuck to it during my whole life."[51]

When his son, Henry, was about a year and a half old, his mother took him to Circleville, Ohio, to visit her family, a journey of some 400 miles. They travelled with B. F. Harris' brother John and his wife, in a two-seated carriage, one of the first in the country. The day after they departed, B. F. Harris was taken ill with fever, and when his wife heard of his illness, she started for home with Henry, traveling day and night in the stage. When she reached home her husband was recovering, but she was so exhausted from the trip home, she became ill and died the first of October, 1845. Very touching is the commentary, "After the death of my wife Elizabeth I was left alone with Henry and Hannah, a girl I had taken to raise, she was then about twelve years of age and a colored boy Jim, about fifteen years of age. I had a rather lonely and hard time."[52]

The pioneer encountered many difficulties in the business of farming. Only forty of the 400 acres, which B. F. Harris purchased from his brother-in-law were improved, but during his first year on the farm he broke up and fenced a hundred acres. It was very difficult to break up the prairies, which were covered with a thick dense tangle of the many years' growth of the prairie grass. Oxen were used to pull the

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[44] *Ibid.*, 43.
[45] Cost of School-house, Appendix, 17. Day Book, I.
[46] Cost of Bethel Chapel, Appendix, 21. Day Book, I, 231.
[47] Autobiography, 73. Copy of the original subscriptions to Bethel Chapel, taken on the 30th day of October, 1858. G. M. Huckstep, Secretary, Day Book, I, 212.
[48] Cunningham, *History of Champaign County*, 742.
[49] *Ibid.*, 773.
[50] Appendix, 17-20.
[51] Autobiography, 43.
[52] Autobiography, 51.

plow through this dense sod. It was also difficult to obtain fencing material. A day book of 1853 records payments of $1.15 to $1.25 per day, for men to break up the prairie and of $1.00 to $1.12 per hundred for split rails for rail fence.[53] The same year B. F. Harris purchased a circular saw, primarily to saw the lumber for his new house, but also used it to saw lumber to build barns, cribs, and for thousands of fencing plank, to make board fences.[54]

The second year on the farm he raised a hundred acres of corn and ten acres of wheat. In the early years there was little market for farm products, as there was practically no demand in the neighborhood for wheat and corn, because every one was farming, and there were no railroads to ship the grain to places of exchange. In August of 1843 "Frank Harris" flailed out 50 bushels of wheat, which with 50 bushels of corn he sent to Chicago.[55] The wheat was sold for 30 cents a bushel and the corn for 20 cents.

Since there was so little market for farm produce, and corn often sold for 8 cents to 10 cents a bushel, he concluded the wisest thing, was to market his grain by means of cattle. The corn was fed the cattle and hogs, partly fattened upon the wide ranges of free pasture, and the cattle driven on foot to the Eastern markets. For many years he not only fed all the produce of his own farm to cattle, but purchased many hundred bushels of grain from his neighbors.[56]

The corn crop was planted by covering the hand dropped seeds, with a plow, which was also later used to cultivate the corn. In 1854, men were paid $1.10 per day for dropping corn, and $1.00 per day for plowing corn.[57] In 1855, B. F. Harris harvested 20 bushels of wheat[58] and 65 bushels of corn per acre, the average crop at this time being 35 bushels per acre.[59] The wheat and oats were harrowed in upon plowed ground, and harvested and threshed, or flailed by hand.

In reply to a questionnaire sent out by the Honorable John Reynolds, B. F. Harris gave the products of his farm, for the year 1855, as follows:

700 acres of corn at 65 bushels per acre	45,500 bushels[60]
70 acres of oats at 30 bushels per acre	2,100 bushels
20 acres of wheat at 20 bushels per acre	400 bushels
2 acres of potatoes at 75 bushels per acre	150 bushels
120 tons of Hay at $6.00 per ton	$ 600.00
10 bushels of Beans at $1.10 per bushel	10.00
100 head of Cattle worth	1,000.00
150 head of Cattle worth	1,500.00
90 head of Cattle worth	2,700.00
20 head of Cattle worth	200.00
21 head of Horses, at $80 per head	1,680.00

[53] Day Book, I, 59.
[54] Autobiography, 54.
[55] *Ibid.*, 46.
[56] *Ibid.*, 51-52.
[57] Day Book, I, 57, 77.
[58] *Prairie Farmer*, July, 1855.
[59] A. C. Cole, *The Era of the Civil War*, 78.
[60] William Ferguson, *America by River and Rail*, 378. A neighbor of B. F. Harris at this time who owned a farm of 960 acres was willing to sell his farm at $15.00 per acre and said he could make a profit by selling Indian Corn at 15 cents per bushel.

200 head of Hogs, at $5 per head..... 1,000.00
12 head of Sheep, at $1.50 per head..... 18.00[61]

In reply to the same questionnaire, James M. Brown, a prominent farmer of Island Grove, Sangamon County, Illinois, gives the following account of his farm:

2,250 Acres.
250 Acres of Timberland.
600 Acres under plow.
480 Acres Corn, which averages 60 to 65 bushels per acre.
Remainder in wheat, oats and grass.
50 Cows.
500 Steers.
400 Stall Fed Beeves.
200 to 400 Hogs.
40 head Horses and Mules.[62]

As B. F. Harris' farm grew larger, it became more difficult to manage. Accordingly he leased a certain number of acres to neighboring farmers, who furnished the equipment and labor, in return for half the amount of the grain produced on the land.[63]

While "Frank Harris" failed to keep accurate accounts of his stock feeding operations, as are deemed desirable now by feeders, he did keep very detailed account books, which he called Day Books. In these books were recorded the work of each man, the amount of merchandise charged by these men at the stores in the neighboring towns to the Harris account, the cash settlement at irregular intervals with the men, the amount of corn and grain produced on the farm, the cost of stock purchased, the amount of grain they consumed, the cost of their care, the selling price, and profit made on the cattle. Also in these books are listed loans made to numerous individuals, and memoranda of deposits made in various banks, and securities purchased. The Day Books, so far located, begin with the year 1853 and cover B. F. Harris' farming business until his death.

The autobiography relates that usually there were from eight to ten laboring men on the farm, and according to the Day Book No. 1, which covers the years from 1854 to 1860, sixty different men did farm work for him. Some worked all of the time, others merely for a few weeks during corn cutting. The average wage paid by the month, was from $14.00 to $18.00,[64] but most men seemed to have worked by the

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[61] *Ibid.*, 377. In June, 1856, B. F. Harris' farm contained 4,200 acres:
700 acres of Indian corn.
100 acres of oats.
100 acres of wheat.
200 acres meadow.
700 acres wood.
2,500 acres pasturage.
Autobiography, 70-71. It is interesting to contrast the produce of 1856 with the inventory of 1899:
5000 acres.
42000 bushels corn.
4000 bushels oats.
250 tons hay.
450 head cattle.
150 hogs.
100 horses.

[62] *Urbana Union*, December 3, 1855.

[63] Autobiography, 71. Appendix, 22.

[64] Day Book, I.

day, and the kind of work they did is recorded; page 59, Day Book No. 1, is a typical entry of such work:

December 1856.	
To 6 hundred Rails	$ 6.68
To Fencing, 3 days	3.75
To Fencing, 2½ days	2.50
To Thrashing wheat, 4 days	4.00
To making 1,200 rail stakes	10.00
Cutting Corn, 133 shocks	9.90
52 days breaking prairie	65.00
49 days breaking prairie	59.00
August 4, 1857.	
7 days hauling rails	$ 7.00
15 days plowing	15.00
52 days breaking prairie	59.80
7 days harvesting	10.75

On one of his trips to New York B. F. Harris saw a boy of fourteen helping drive some cattle into pens at the stock yards. He was attracted to the boy, and asked him if he would like to go west, to do chores, and learn to be a cattle man. The boy ran to ask his mother, and returned presently with his clothes in a bundle, ready to start West. He remained on the Harris farm until he was twenty-one, when with Harris' consent, and $2,000 he secured a job with the Chicago Stock Yards. This boy was Simon O'Donnel who later became manager of the Pittsburg Central Stock Yards.[65]

There was a great scarcity of common laborers and mechanics of all kinds in this section, which seriously hindered the farmers.[66] but "Frank Harris," however, seemed to be able to keep his workmen, as some of the men he had trained to drive cattle East remained for many years on the farm with him.[67] In 1857 there seems to have been a boarding house on the farm, at which the men were charged 11 cents a meal or $2.00 a week. The boarding account during corn cutting shows that there were from 17 to 23 men there, three meals a day for three weeks.[68]

Very little farm equipment is referred to in the Autobiography. When he started farming B. F. Harris purchased a wagon and three horses,[69] but mentions using oxen for all heavy work.[70] In the Day Book No. 1, are entries of the following articles of farm equipment:

August 8, 1854	Cash Wagon	$ 68.00
	Freight Wagon	1.05
December 11, 1856	One Ox-Wagon	40.00
April 3, 1857	Harness	24.75
May 1, 1857	Plow	12.00
October 20, 1858	Scales	50.00
April 29, 1860	Shovel	1.00
July 30, 1860	Saddle	14.00
	Horses	$85 to 135.00

[65] Autobiography, 94. Appendix, 23.
[66] *Urbana Union*, October 13, 1853.
[67] Autobiography, 75.
[68] Day Book, I, 259.
[69] Autobiography, 40.
[70] *Ibid.*, 46.

The following list shows the value of provisions and clothes from 1854 to 1856:

Molasses, 55 to 65c gallon	
Sugar, 6 3/4 to 8c pound	
Coffee, 12½ to 16 2/3 pound	
Vinegar, 25c gallon	
Potatoes, 20 to 30c bushel	
½ barrel fish, $5.50	
Salt, 2c pound	
14 pounds mutton, 7c pound	$ .98
9½ pounds lard, 10c pound	.95
1 bushel corn meal	.40
Peaches	1.00
100 pounds buck wheat	2.50
½ bushel beans	.50
½ bushel sweet potatoes	.65
1½ bushel corn meal	.75
Tallow, 9 pounds	1.72
Hominy, 100 pounds at 2 1/4c	2.25
Vestcoat	2.00
Coat	5.50
6 yards Hickory for shirts	.75
15 yards Pant Cloth, 37 1/2c	5.62½
Boots	4.00
Sock, 50 to 60c pair	
Blue Gingham	.75
Gloves, $1.00 to $1.25 pair	
One bolt muslin, 33½ yards	3.55
Shoes	2.00
1 pair buck mits	1.00
Chairs, each	1.87
Stove	10.00
Watch	10.00
Quinine	.50
½ bottle Smith's Tonic	.50[71]

May 7, 1846, B. F. Harris married Mary Jane Heath, the daughter of David Heath, formerly of Ross County, Ohio, who moved to Piatt County, Illinois, about 1845. To them were born eight children: David Franklin, born March 3, 1847, died May 5, 1847; Elizabeth, born February 19, 1848, died April 9, 1862; George Payne, born December 10, 1850, died September 24, 1864; Rachael Jane Rebecca, born December 1, 1853, married David Andrew Phillippee; Mary Ida, born December 7, 1859; Benjamin Franklin, born November 28, 1867, died December 10, 1868.[72]

In 1853 "Frank Harris" decided that he should have a better home; until this time he had lived in log cabins. It was very difficult to get lumber, because there were few saw mills, so he took four or five teams with him to Peoria, and purchased and hauled home, a circular sawmill. He employed a carpenter, named Masgrove, who with the help

[71] Day Book, I.
[72] Family Bible.

of four men was six months in building the new house. The timber used in the house was walnut, cut on the farm. The limestone quarried in the neighborhood, was burned in a lime-kiln, and used in the foundation and for the plaster. As originally built this was a one story house which contained seven large rooms, with open fire places; later a second floor was added to the house, and it now is standing on the farm in excellent condition.[73]

As has been said it was in the business of stock feeding that B. F. Harris achieved his greatest success. In the summer of 1842, he purchased 50 cattle, and stall fed them corn during the winter; by the 20th of February they were fat, and he drove them to St. Louis, selling the drove to a butcher at $40.00 per head. He continued buying cattle year after year, in Missouri, Kansas and Illinois. He never purchased cattle through a commission house, but made his own selections, until he retired from active farm management. He believed he knew better than anyone else what he wanted, and could get it at just as good prices. His preference was strongly for short-horns, because he believed his experience proved them to be better beef animals at the ages at which he usually sold than cattle of any other breed. Although the first lot of cattle he bought consisted of calves, he seldom took shorter ages than yearlings, the bulk of his purchases being two year olds. In August and September he bought as many cattle as he thought the farm could support.

In 1853-54, he purchased 950 head of cattle, which was the largest number he ever handled in one year, from Sangamon and Mason County farmers, and bought that year 63,000 bushels of corn, which in addition to his own crop of 25.000 bushels, was used to stall feed the cattle during that winter. In the spring, 800 were sold to drovers, but 100 of the heaviest and best, which averaged 1,800 pounds in weight, he sent with a hired man to Boston, where they were sold to a butcher for $66.00 per head. In 1854-55, he purchased and stall fed about 400 head of fine cattle.

None of B. F. Harris' cattle were ever housed, but were penned up at night and driven out to the prairie in the early morning. The cattle were divided into lots of about 100, with a hired man to feed each lot. Each of these men had an ox-team with three yoke. The cattle were fed six to twelve months, on ear or shelled corn, corn stover, hay, clover, timothy and blue grass pasture.[74] It was his purpose to increase each animal 460 to 600 pounds in weight, and make a profit of $20 to $25 per head. The following is a description by an English visitor at the farm, June 5, 1856:

"We went to see a herd of fine cattle belonging to Mr. Frank Harris. They were out on an extensive prairie, and we discovered them by means of a glass. We went straight as we could, through the prairie some mile or two, to where they were, losing sight of them most of the while, from the rolling of the ground. At last we got near them, and the sight was indeed worth going a long way to see. There were one hundred and twenty-six of them; one weighed as much as 2,600 lbs.; many of the others weighed from 1,900 to 2,100

[73] Autobiography, 54-55.
[74] Autobiography, 51-53.

pounds. They were standing and lying about among the deep grass, in attitudes and groups, such as would have delighted Cooper to paint. A finer lot of fat cattle, I suppose, is not to be seen anywhere. They were tended by a little lad, mounted on a fine high-bred pony, a most intelligent little fellow he was, and right glad to see us to break the monotony of his occupation. He keeps the cattle penned all night, he told us; brings them out to the prairie about seven in the morning, and as I understood, tends them there for the most part of the day. He pointed out his favorites with great delight. We called for Mr. Harris at his house about two miles from where the cattle were, but did not find him."[75]

The following advertisement appeared in the *Urbana Union,* May 3, 10, 17, 1855:

CATTLE DEALER, BE ON YOUR GUARD—THIEVES ABROAD.

"There have been several head of cattle missing during the past winter and no clew obtained as to their whereabouts, something rather mysterious appearing in this. I, together with my neighbors, have "kept an eye open," watching for foul play. On the evening of the 29th day of March last, at or about the hour of 10 o'clock p. m., a man in my employ discovered an animal, in the shape of a man, among my cattle, picking out a few of the best ones, no doubt with the intention of appropriating them for his own use. He selected three, drove them out of the field, which was not 300 yards from my house, and was proceeding on his way rejoicing, when he was alarmed by the man on watch. Information was immediately given, and all hands were out, but the thief made his escape. Himself and horse were pretty well identified, so much that we have a pretty sure idea of the man, I hereby, for myself and in behalf of my neighbors, offer $100 for the arrest and conviction of any thief detected stealing cattle or horses in my neighborhood."

B. F. HARRIS.

Before the railroads were built, the drovers from the East came out the first of April, and purchased cattle by the head, usually 100 in a lot, which they drove East, in June or July. If "Frank Harris" failed to sell cattle to drovers, he sent them East with some of his own men, whom he had taught to manage and drive cattle, when he was in the cattle driving business. After the Illinois Central Railroad was completed, most of his cattle and hogs were shipped to Chicago. Many lots were sold to the Boston Exporting Company, whose representative personally selected the cattle on the Harris farm, as he made a speciality of the breed of cattle demanded by the export trade.[76]

In the spring of 1854, Frank Harris shipped on the Illinois Central, 100 fat cattle, whose average weight was 1,965½ pounds, gross. This shipment produced a sensation among stock feeders; they were said to be the heaviest hundred ever sold in this country up to that time. They took the State Fair Premium, and were sent to the World's

[75] Ferguson, 376, 377.
[76] Autobiography, 51-52.

Fair in New York, where they were pronounced the heaviest and best lot, for so large a number.[1] Many persons were present to see these cattle weighed, among others Messrs. Cahil and Jacoby, neighbors of B. F. Harris, and dealers in heavy cattle. They joined farmers and determined in the generous spirit of competition, to improve on these weights. They shipped in the spring of 1855, 100 fat cattle, the average weight of which was 2000 pounds, thus beating the Harris shipment by 125 pounds to the bullock. Cahil and Jacoby proposed to have 100 head of cattle the next year which would beat anything B. F. Harris could raise. He accepted the challenge. The Urbana Union of May 3, 1855, writes in regard to the heavy cattle shipment of Cahil and Jacoby:

> "We understand our friend B. F. Harris, of Sangamon timber county says that in another spring he will beat the above figures. We can assure the world that if they do not steal his cattle from him, which will be a sore job, that he is bound to beat."[2]

On the tenth of March, Messrs. Cahil and Jacoby weighed their famous drove, giving an average weight of 2115 pounds. On the 17th of March, B. F. Harris' 100 famous cattle were weighed, in the presence of 200 or more cattle men. The scales used were Fairbank's patent, previously adjusted, and the weighmaster legally qualified, was Dr. Johns of Decatur, who was an extensive and successful stock farmer. "Frank Harris" cattle averaged 2,377 pounds, beating Messrs. Cahil and Jacoby 262 pounds on the head. The gentlemen contesting acknowledged they were badly beaten. Our author wrote, "After the contest was over I gave the crowd a good substantial dinner." Three days were required to drive these bullocks 14 miles to the railway station.[3] The following is a copy of the circular printed by B. F. Harris at this time, containing the weights and history of these heavy cattle:

Record of the Best Hundred Head of Cattle ever
Fattened in One Lot in the United States.

STOCKMEN, ATTENTION!

Who Can Beat This Record?

Weight of 100 head of Cattle fattened by B. F. Harris of Champaign County, Illinois:

No. Cattle	Weight	No. Cattle	Weight	No. Cattle	Weight
2	4718	2	4684	2	4650
2	4782	2	4610	2	4806

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[1] Ibid., 18.
[2] Urbana Union, April 21, 1855.
[3] Cole, The Life of Abraham Lincoln, 48.
[4] New York Tribune, March 1, 1856.
[5] Democratic Press, March 24, 1856.
[6] Fred Bennett, History of B. F. Harris.
[7] Urbana Union, May 3, 1855.
[8] Champaign County Gazette, March 27, 1856.
[9] Cole, The Life of Abraham Lincoln, 48.
[10] Bennett, Ibid.

No. Cattle	Weight	No. Cattle	Weight	No. Cattle	Weight
2	4340	2	4776	2	4505
2	4580	2	4488	1	2548
2	4582	2	4572	2	4830
2	4730	2	4988	2	4762
2	4764	2	4634	2	4706
2	4738	2	4458	2	4854
2	4880	2	4920	2	4746
2	4756	2	4828	2	4700
2	5150	2	4702	2	4546
2	4624	2	4852	1	2516
2	4582	2	4464	2	4648
2	5364	2	4900	2	4724
2	4828	2	4634	2	4720
2	5378	2	4764	2	4732
2	4864	1	2690	1	2646
2	4640				

Average price sale, 7 cents.

These cattle were weighed by Dr. Johns, President of the State Agricultural Society.

Twelve of the large cattle out of 100 head weighed May 23rd, 1856, which was during the time of fattening.

Black	2424	Ch. Roan	2522	S. White	2360
Red	2340	B. Red	2574	P. Red	2486
Pied	2640	S. Roan	2330	Long White	2496
M. Red	2264	C. Red	2340	M. Red	2540

Same Cattle weighed July 18, 1856:

Black	2526	Ch. Roan	2654	S. White	2430
Red	2480	B. Red	2646	P. Red	2630
Pied	2730	S. Roan	2470	L. White	2600
M. Red	2424	C. Red	2490	M. Red	2564

Same Cattle weighed February 12th, 1857:

Black	2720	Ch. Roan	2810	S. White	2605
Red	2780	B. Red	2910	P. Red	2840
Pied	2990	S. Roan	2680	L. White	2810
M. Red	2640	C. Red	2770	M. Red	2880

Average, 2786¼ lbs.

Average age, 4 years.

Weighed by B. F. Harris; sold for 8 cents per lb.

Largest steer in Illinois, weighed 3524, 7 years old, raised by John Rising, fed by H. H. Harris.

Average weight of the 100 head, 2377 lbs.

The foregoing is a correct statement of a famous cattle sale which occurred in the city of Chicago, month of March, 1856.

The herd comprised 100 head of the finest and heaviest cattle ever raised and fattened in one lot by one man in the State of Illinois, or in the United States of America, or elsewhere, so far as the records go to show. These cattle were raised from 1 and 2 year old steers on my farm in Champaign County, Illinois, and

fattened for the market in the years of 1855 and '56, their average age, at that time, being 4 years. They were weighed on my farm by Dr. Johns, of Decatur, Illinois, President State Agricultural Society. Said weights were witnessed by a large number of representative men from Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky and Illinois, to the number of five hundred, among whom were many professional cattle raisers and dealers, all of whom bore willing testimony to the average weight of 2,786¼ lbs., and were sold to Messrs. Cliborn & Alby, of Chicago, at 8 cents per lb. The weigh master kept a record of each draft as the cattle were weighed—one and two in a draft. A copy of said weights is herewith attached for the inspection of the general public; also copy of average gain at different periods.

On the 22d of February, 1857, the 12 steers sold to Cliborn & Alby, appropriately decorated with tri-colored ribbon, preceded by a band of music, were led through the principal streets of Chicago, followed by 100 butchers, mounted and uniformed. After this unique procession, the cattle were slaughtered by said Cliborn & Alby, for the city markets, some of the beef selling as high as 50 cents per pound. Small packages of it were sent to customers in various parts of the United States, and even Europe, and sold, in some cases, as high as $1 per pound. These orders were given by these parties simply that they might say they had eaten of the famous premium beef.

B. F. HARRIS.

The following concerning these cattle, appeared in the *Chicago Democratic Press,* March 25, 1856:

> "We have heard it intimated that Chicago Butchers were negotiating for 10 of the best cattle for city consumption. We hope such is the case, for the income, means and taste of our citizens are such to enable them to pay for and appreciate the best of everything. Certainly they are as able to buy good beef as the New Yorkers and can afford to eat what the English and French Governments are trying to obtain for their soldiers. Let us have 10 of Harris' cattle, by all means."

The same paper also states:

> "There is still opportunity for improvement but no question whether these weights will be increased for some time to come, since it does not prove the most profitable to make the heaviest animals, and profit is apt to govern in cattle growing, as in all other pursuits. However, if either our cattle kings, Funk or Strawn should undertake to do better than this, Harris might have an opportunity to try again."

John Sherman, for many years General Manager of the Chicago Union Stock Yards, was clerk at the sale of these heavy cattle, and recorded their weights. The scale beam (from the first scale ever built by the Fairbanks people) from which the weights were taken was exhibited by Mr. Sherman at the Columbian Exposition in 1893. He also had published for distribution among World's Fair visitors thousands of circulars setting forth the record of the big steers. After the

fair he presented the scale beam enclosed in a handsome mahogany case to B. F. Harris, who placed it on the wall of the First National Bank at Champaign.[80]

B. F. Harris continued in the cattle business until the end of his life. The following is a quotation from the *Chicago Examiner,* June 16, 1904, the year before he passed away:

> "While the shippers discovered several weak spots in cattle values yesterday, a drove of eighty-four head of corn-fed sold up to $6.70, the high point of the season, and there was an urgent demand for such cattle. The deal embraced a drove of eighty-four head of fancy short-horn steers from the feed lot of B. F. Harris in Champaign County, Illinois, noted in the market circles for the excellency of its output. The cattle average 1616 pounds, and went to fill an order for the Boston trade, which is exacting. The price per head was $108.27."

Hogs raised on the farm followed every lot of cattle. In 1855, as previously stated, the Harris farm had 200. In 1853 Mr. Samuel Allerton, who had just started in the business of buying hogs to ship to Chicago, came to the Harris farm. The author wrote, "I had some 200 hogs for sale, but he told me he did not have the money to pay for my drove. I sold him my hogs and told him to pay me when he sold the hogs in Chicago this enabled him to buy 3 or 400 head. Mr. Allerton got his hogs gathered up and drove them to Champaign. About the first stock shipped from Champaign, the price of hogs advanced and he sold them at a fine margin—This encouraged him to continue in that line of business—Mr. Allerton has often told me that start I gave him when he had no money to speak of, to sell him my hogs and pay me when he sold them in Chicago."[81]

There was considerable interest throughout the country in agriculture in the fifties, and many county agricultural societies were formed. In 1852 the Agricultural and Mechanical Association was formed in Urbana. On October 22, the annual fair for the exhibition of stock was held in the public square of Urbana. The *Urbana Union* of October 20, 1853, remarks: "The County Fair comes off Saturday, a great day that will be for fine stock, as Champaign can beat the world." The Society had an extensive membership at this time An editorial of the same month urges the farmers and mechanics to come together every year to compare their work, and to set committees to investigate into the science of Agriculture, and report upon the best methods of conducting farms. At the Champaign County Agricultural and Mechanical Association Fair, in Urbana, October 25, B. F. Harris won the following premiums. Class A, Cattle: best ten fat steers, yoke work oxen, bull calf—1st premium, specific; steer, 1 year and over, sweepstakes; best six calves; Class B, horses and mules, saddle horse, Mary Hopkins. The same month at the State Agricultural Fair at Chicago he took premiums on fine cattle, and a saddle horse.

The autobiography contains an interesting comment on the different steps, by which "Frank Harris'" fortune grew. When he was a

[80] *The Breeders Gazette,* May 24, 1905.
[81] Autobiography 94-95.

small boy going to school, he gathered together a dozen or two hens, and started in the chicken business, selling eggs, and raising chickens. In a year or two he had cleared sufficient money to buy a colt, and later some calves. When he was sixteen years old and stopped school, through business manipulations he owned two horses, and later while teaming for his father, through several successful horse trades, managed to acquire $183 and a colt.[83] In August, 1834, when he was 23 years old, he started in business for himself. In November, 1834, he attempted his first trip East with cattle from Ohio to Pennsylvania, and cleared $980 on this business venture. The next spring, with this capital and $3,000 borrowed money, he started to Illinois to buy cattle, and make a fair profit on the year's business. On his second trip East, he cleared $1,500; the third trip, $1,000; the fourth trip $1,100. By December, 1842, when he was 31 and just married, his assets amounted to $7,000.[84] That year he commenced farming, improving land and stock feeding. On his return from marketing cattle, he stopped at Danville, Illinois, where a government land office was maintained, and invested one-half the proceeds from the sale of cattle in land; and a small amount of cash in those days would buy a large tract of land. He considered this the best business investment he could make. He purchased land warrants of the war of 1812, and Mexican Land Script, and entered and located lands, all at a cost of from $1.25 to $3 per acre. The old land warrants are the only deeds to some of his land today.

When he first came to Illinois "Frank Harris" thought when he had made $30,000 he would sell his farm in Illinois and return to Ohio. However, when in 1853 Billie Marton of Decatur offered to purchase his farm for $30,000 he decided he preferred to remain in Illinois, and refused Marton's offer.[85] In the fall of 1863 he moved to Champaign, then known as West Urbana, and his older brother, Payne Harris, managed the farm for four years. B. F. Harris furnished the farm and capital, and his brother the labor and all the equipment; they divided the income equally. In the four years his brother received as his share between $25,000 and $30,000. In 1867 B. F. Harris' son, Henry Hickman Harris, went on the farm for four years, on the same terms that Payne Harris had done. At this time the farm consisted of 5,000 acres.[85]

In politics "Uncle Frank," as he was known in later years, was originally a Whig, and later until his death a Republican. He was never a politician, but was a radical supporter of the doctrines of his party, and knew personally many of the early Republican workers in the state. At the polls in Champaign in 1904, just after he cast his ballot for Theodore Roosevelt, he stated to the gentlemen around the polling place that he had just cast his nineteenth vote for a president of the United States, his first being given for Henry Clay in 1832.[86] In 1844 he was elected Justice of the Peace of Champaign County by

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[83] Autobiography, 5-26.
[84] Ibid., 33-38.
[85] Autobiography, 38-54.
[86] Ibid., 68-72.
[86] Champaign Daily Gazette, May 5, 1905.

a large majority,[87] concerning which, while he was Justice of the Peace, he wrote, "I was cawled on to marry a cople I concented to perform the cerimony was somewhat Scared but went through all right as the Spectators all said. . . ."[88]

In 1846 "Frank Harris" was elected one of the three County Commissioners[89] who until 1846 transacted county business. Later, after township government under a board of supervisors had been adopted, he was elected Supervisor of Mahomet Township, in 1862 and in 1863.[90] On April 13, 1854, he was appointed Road Supervisor of District No. 23.[91] Many times from 1854 to 1856 he was grand or petit juror, at the circuit court in Urbana, when Abraham Lincoln practiced as a lawyer before the court.[92] The author writes of President Lincoln. . . . "The President was a personal friend of mine. . . . .and shared our hospitality frequently in going from Decatur and Springfield to Urbana to attend court. I had often visited his home."[93]

In 1861 when President Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers, "Frank Harris" helped raise a company of 100 young men (Middletown) Mahomet Township. He went with the boys to Joilet to see them "sworn in the service," and he wrote, "I gave them $100 as a token of my good will."[94] His eldest son, Henry Hickman Harris, was at this time only 17 years old, but as he was most anxious to enter the service, he enlisted under Captain Armstrong in General Butler's division, in New Orleans, where he served three years.[95]

In May, 1861, B. F. Harris went to Washington, D. C., to see President Lincoln. The President heard of his arrival in Washington and immediately sent a note requesting him to come to his home. B. F. Harris was immediately taken to the family room where he saw Mrs. Lincoln and the children. The author writes, "The President talked about everything in reference to the war and was anxious to hear what the feeling throughout the county, especially the feeling of his home people and Illinois in general. . . .the President straightened up and said I know you and your visit has given me more encouragement than I have had from any one. I will want you to call in the morning at nine o'clock and go with me to the cabinet meeting. I want to introduce you to each member. I called at nine o'clock, went to the meeting, was made acquainted with one of the greatest boddy of men that ever assembled together to transact business Montgomiry Blair envited me to go home and tak dinner with him he was Post Master general[96] I took dinner with the familey I was treated in great Stile for havin bene and old acquaintance and a close friend to the President In cabinet meeting the President gave a history of our acquaintance this gave me many friends with the heads of Departments. . . .the next

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[87] Appendix, 44-45.
[88] Autobiography, 44-45.
[89] Stewart, 164.
[90] Autobiography, 45.
[91] *Urbana Union*, April 13, 1854.
[92] *Ibid.*, May 18, 1854, May 10, September 13, 1855, May 8, 1856.
[93] Autobiography, 64.
[94] *Ibid.*, 64.
[95] Appendix, 49. Autobiography, 63.
[96] *Daily National Intelligencer*, May 23, 1861. Postmaster General Blair was present at the raising of the Union flag on the south front of the General Post Office Building.

day after I arived in washington, Colonel Elsworth was Kiled. . . ."[97] B. F. Harris remained some ten days in Washington before he returned to his home on the Sangamon. His recollections of wartime Washington are quite accurate. In point after point they are borne out by contemporary writers.

When "Frank Harris" returned from the East, he decided to leave his farm under his brother's management and move to West Urbana, soon destined to begin its remarkable growth under the new name of Champaign. July, 1845, the population of West Urbana consisted of five farm houses, half a mile or more apart, two or three shanties, which housed railroad workers, and the cottage of Mark Carley. The coming of the Illinois Central Railroad, which ran its first train through West Urbana, on the 24th day of July, 1854, marked a great change in the development of Champaign County.[98] Telegraph communication and daily mails soon took the place of the semi-weekly stage coach, which made its trips from Danville to Bloomington with the scanty mails. A census taken in August, 1855, showed a population of 416, for West Urbana, and 1135 for Urbana proper; a census in January, 1857, showed the remarkable growth of West Urbana, to a population of 1,202. At the time of this census as printed in the *Urbana Union,* January 8, 1857, the following statistics were given for West Urbana: Number of houses, 234; dry goods stores, 8; clothing stores, 1; drug stores, 3; hardware and stoves, 5; furniture, 2; shoe stores, 2; clergymen, 4; millinery stores, 3; jewelers, 2; lumber yards, 6; saddle shops, 2; blackmith shops, 3; bakeries, 2; warehouses, 4; flour mills, 1; livery stables, 1; schools, 3; physicians, 3; dentists, 1. However, with all this show of a municipality, Urbana and Champaign were still villages. The *Urbana Union* of September 27, 1855, states:

"The last census confirms our suspicions that there are more hogs in Urbana than people. They are not only numerous but of all possible sizes. If the name of our town should be changed it should be Hogtown, or Swineville."

May, 1858, the same paper states that a law was proposed to keep the hogs out of the streets.

Henry H. Harris, B. F. Harris' oldest son, attended school at Illinois Wesleyan, in Bloomington, Illinois, and later Delaware College at Delaware, Ohio.[99] In the spring of 1861 he enlisted in the army and served three years.[100] On April 27, 1866, he was married to Miss

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[97] *New York Daily Tribune,* Saturday, May 25, 1861.

"Colonel Ellsworth was killed at Alexandria as he was removing a Secession Flag from a public house."

Harpers New Monthly Magazine, Vol. 23, June to November, 1861, p. 257.

"Shortly after midnight the New York Fireman's Zouaves, under the command of Colonel Ellsworth, embarked on steamers from the Navy Yard at Washington for Alexandria. * * * The Zouaves landed without opposition shortly after dawn and proceeded to remove the rail from the road leading to the interior. Colonel Ellsworth with two or three men passing the Public House from the roof of which floated a Secession Flag, entered for the purpose of removing it. Coming down with the flag in his possession he was met in a passage way by the proprietor of the house, James F. Jackson, and was shot through the heart. At almost the same instant Jackson was killed by Francis E. Brownell of the Zouaves."

Autobiography, 64-65.

Appendix, 48.

[98] *Urbana Union,* July 27, 1854, p. 2.

Appendix, 48.

[99] Appendix, 48.

[100] *Ibid.,* 49-50.

Mary Melissa Megrue of Pickaway, Ohio, who was a graduate in the class of 1865 of Oxford College of Oxford, Ohio. Henry Harris brought his bride to the Harris farm in Champaign County. The following entry was made in the Day Book, soon after they moved to the farm:

Day Book No. 2, *page* 195, *March* 7, 1867.

March 7, 1867, *H. H. Harris.*

April 20, 1867, by cash to go to Chicago	$335.00
Carpet, brussel	77.13
Carpet, 50 yards	90.00
Parlor Furniture	165.00
Stove	90.00
March 9, cash for buggy	135.00
June 10, cash for sewing machine	73.00

B. F. Harris' second wife, Mary Jane Heath Harris, died the 23rd of March, 1883. The author wrote, "I wish to and will make mention in this historical family record the part my former wife Mary Jane is entitled. . . .in helping me in all my efforts to succeed. . . . She was always ready and willing to do her part in the interest of the home—there was many things to contend with that many wives would have raised Kane when eight or ten labouring men to board in and sleep in our three cabbins. . . .beside this many comers to be entertained a continuous line all the year round. And the preachers were readey visitors. . . . .My Deceased wife Mary Jane is entitle to a ready Share of our Grand Success in our business enterprises. . . . . She was a member and faithful worker in the church until her death."[101] November 7, 1887, B. F. Harris married Mrs. Saysak J. Conwell of Exenia, Ohio. Concerning this event the author wrote, "We came to our home in this city where we had a very harty welcome from my children relatives and friends which made it very peasant. . . . we lived verry pleasantley and happy together for nearley ten years her death was verry sudden and died from a stroke of applexa. . . ." She died on the 15th of January, 1898.[102]

One obstacle to the economic development of the community was the absence of adequate banking facilities. The need of capital was a fundamental factor in the plans for expansion of merchant, or farmer alike. Little specie appeared in circulation, and most bills were paid in produce. The following advertisement appeared in the *Urbana Union,* October 20, 1853:

> "All kinds of produce taken in exchange for the Union. Come along then, one and all and subscribe for the Union, bring us a load of wood, some chickens, potatoes, cabbage, turnips, pumpkins or anything that man or horse can eat."

B. F. Harris required a considerable amount of cash to run his farm and carry on his other businesses, and felt the urgent necessity of having a safe place to keep the money, where it would be loaned at a reasonable amount of interest. The legal rate of interest was advanced to ten per cent in 1849, but little money could be had even at

[101] Autobiography, 74-75.
[102] *Ibid.*, 75-76.

that price, as money handlers were able to violate the law and demand fifteen, twenty, and even twenty-five per cent. The older people of Champaign say that B. F. Harris disliked the accepted custom of exacting as large an interest fee as could be secured from the needy borrower, and loaned his own money accepting only the legal rate of interest. The entries on Day Book No. 1, page 63, from April 22, 1856 to July show the extent of these loans:

April 22, 1856, cash lent Orr, three months at 10%	$1,000.00
April 23, cash lent Bailey Parks & Co. at 10%	700.00
April 8, lent Benson	200.00
May 10th, cash lent Bailey Parks & Co.	500.00
May 29, cash lent John Badley, at 10%	400.00
May 29th, cash lent Thomas Malery, at 10%	100.00
May 1st, loaned to Charles Sidner	23.20
May 1st, cash to C. C. Hause	327.00
May 23, cash loaned to Armstrong	225.00
June 6, 1856, deposited with the Grand Prairie Bank & Co.	2,600.00
June 6, Special Deposit	400.00
June 10, Chicago, cash lent Joel Ellis & Co. to be paid in twenty days	3,621.65
June 11, cash lent to Samuel Dean for 3 months	200.00
June 18, cash lent to Alter & Cambell for 4 months	1,000.00
June 18, 1856, cash lent Gifford Ladd, did not take any note	200.00
July 11, cash lent George Clowser	100.00
July 23, cash lent Rev. Bradshaw	200.00
July 23, cash lent Reverend Bradshaw to be applied to the Methodist church in Urbana	200.00

The uncertain paper money of foreign banks—banks organized in other states, was the money in most common circulation. It was difficult to know when and how much this paper money was below par. Large sums "Frank Harris" apparently preferred to invest in drafts or certificates of deposits of New York banks. In Day Book, No. 1, page 474 is a memorandum of Bills of Exchange, and on page 248 a list of certificates of deposit made with Atwood & Company of New York.

Deposited by W. H. Harris, May 8, 1856, for B. F. Harris, at Atwood & Co., New York, No. 8 Wall Street, Bankers.

$1,000, New York, May 8, 1856, No. 685.
1,000, New York, May 8, 1856, No. 686.
1,000, New York, May 8, 1856, No. 687.
1,000, New York, May 8, 1856, No. 688.
500, New York, May 8, 1856, No. 689, (Sold to Fulling).
500, New York, May 8, 1856, No. 690, (Sent to Wiscott).
1,134, New York, May 8, 1856, No. 691, (Sold to Tucker Exchange Bank Chicago).[103]

The first bank of the county was opened March 1, 1856, under the Illinois General Banking Law, and was known as the Grand Prairie

[103] Appendix, 51.

Bank. It was of course, a bank of issue, and located at Urbana, Illinois. In June, 1857, a branch of that concern was opened at the northeast corner of Main and Oak streets, West Urbana. Until the bank building was completed at University avenue and First street, the cash of the bank was carried daily to the main bank at Urbana. At the completion of the new building, the business at West Urbana was continued as the Cattle Bank,. In this connection the following was printed in the *Urbana Union,* January 8, 1857:

> "The Cattle Bank—The officers of this new bank, to be opened in West Urbana in the spring are as follows:—Edward Ater, president; Chalmers M. Sherfy, cashier. Since Champaign County leads the world in the line of big cattle, the name is a very appropriate one. We would suggest that a well executed steel engraving of B. F. Harris, the Cattle King would be an appropriate embellishment for the new bill."

The Harris Day books show deposits in the Grand Prairie Bank; January 6, 1857, $2,600; August 21, 1859, $300,000.

In 1861 the Grand Prairie Bank in Urbana and the Cattle Bank in Champaign closed. They went down in a general collapse of the state stock security banks in Illinois. Another bank was opened in Champaign in 1862, but it was operated in the same manner and some years later suffered the fate of its predecessors; people were afraid of banks. The growing town and county were severely hampered by the lack of a responsible conservative institution. Banking in 1865 was a precarious business for banker and depositor alike. Those were the days of "Wildcat" currency, issued at the will of the banker; banking was a speculative industry. William H. Harris, B. F.'s father, believed there were great advantages for the country in a strong national bank, and his ideas on this subject, greatly impressed his son, who was a strong advocate of supervised national banking.

In 1863 the national banking system was established; any five persons who could perform certain requirements could receive a national banking charter, do a banking business under supervision of the United States, and issue notes secured by United States bonds. The opportunity to secure a National Bank Charter appealed to B. F. Harris. He consulted with some of his friends and they decided to organize a bank. A charter was secured from the United States on January 30, 1865; it was number 913, and was signed by Abraham Lincoln.

The following editorial appeared in the *Gazette,* March 5, 1865:

> "First National Bank of Champaign—The business community will be interested to know that the above bank is now open for the purpose of buying and selling exchange, and has been designated as one of the government depositories. It has not yet received its circulation from the government. The institution opens under the most favorable auspices. The stockholders comprise some of the most sound and worthy citizens of the county, with such officers as J. H. Thomas, Esquire, president; and James S. White, Esquire,

[104] Day Book, 1, 63, 149.

cashier; it needs no recommendation to the confidence of the public."

The first advertisement of the First National Bank appeared in the *Gazette,* May 12, 1865.

FIRST NATIONAL BANK

Champaign, Illinois.

J. H. Thomas, President J. S. Wright, Cashier

Designated Depository & Financial Agent of U. S.

The First National Bank of Champaign, Illinois

Will Buy and Sell Exchange on New York and Chicago

Make Collections and do General Banking Business.

Chicago Correspondent—Union National Bank

Champaign, May 12, 1865.

At the end of the first year at the stockholders meeting, B. F. Harris was elected president and J. S. Wright, cashier. "Frank Harris" remained the nominal president, presiding always at the meeting of the directors, until his death in 1905. Some of the stockholders chafed under the restrictions of the National Banking Act, as they thought private banks were making more profit, and the First National was held to the legal rate of interest of 10 per cent, while the private banks secured 12 to 16 per cent, besides a heavy commission. Some of these stockholders helped organize competing private banks and within three years there were three such banks competing with the First National: D. Gardner & Co., W. Burnham, Condit & Co., and Sanford Richard & Co. You read in J. O. Cunningham's *History of Champaign County,* that the First National came to the front as the financial institution of the county. Some of the stockholders of the First National wished to invest their money in the banks which they thought would bring larger returns. The author writes, "I was satisfyed with the dividends and commence buying out the share holders as fast as they were offered for sale. . . .four or five years until I had bought three-fourths of all the stock. . . .The First National kept along slowly and Shurely always met her obligations occasionally met some small lossels. . . . . Occasionally a small panice would strike the country and the First National worked through. . . ."[105]

In September, 1873, the great banking house of Jay Cooke and Company of Philadelphia failed, and a panic followed. Three of the large banks of Chicago closed their doors, the news reaching Champaign about 3 o'clock p. m. of September . That night and the next morning the four bankers of Champaign had a meeting. B. F. Harris wrote, "as Bankers we had quite a warm session that evening and did not all agree there was three for closing. . . .and the First National would not agree to close its doores."[106] The next morning the bank was surrounded by a large crowd and withdrawal of deposits began. "Uncle Frank" instructed the teller to pay all certificates of deposits to those who wished their money. He wrote, "one man that had a time certificate for Eight Hundred Dollars that was not due for

[105] Autobiography, 78-79.
[106] Autobiography, 79.

six months the teller told him the certificate was not due and refused to pay the ticket until due. I told the teller to pay it, we had plenty of money to pay all that wished their money . . . this man then drew his Eight Hundred Dollars and counted the money over carefully. I asked him if he wished to use the money. He said no, he was afraid he would loose it I told him if he did not want to use the money to put it back in the bank and when he wanted to use the money he should have it. . . you say I can have it at any time yes you can depend on that. So he handed in his eight hundred and got a recpt and and went out. that occurence stop the run on the First National and the same evening there was some Eight Thousand Dollars deposited in the bank and the next day there was twenty thousand. . . ."[107]

In 1871 B. F. Harris' son, Henry H. Harris, was elected cashier; at that time George Turrell was assistant cashier, and Mr. H. S. Capron, later cashier, was teller.

The following letter is found in the vaults of the bank:

Secretary's Office. University of Illinois.

URBANA, ILLINOIS, June 14, 1897.

First National Bank,
Champaign, Illinois.

GENTLEMEN—The Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois, feeling very grateful to you for the assistance rendered the University during the recent financial trouble, hereby tenders its sincere thanks for your kindness in this regard.

Very respectfully yours,
W. H. PILLSBURY,
Secretary.

At this time the Globe Bank, of Treasurer Spaulding of the University failed, and the University funds were tied up in it. The University had no ready money and State officials would not advance any to them. The First National cashed thousands of dollars worth of University warrants, without discount. The following list of deposits, taken every ten years from the date the bank was established until the death of its founder, show the growth of the bank:

January 30, 1865	$ 7,359.65
January 2, 1875	114,022.62
January 2, 1885	248,437.37
January 2, 1895	460,875.23
January 2, 1905	831,399.54

"Uncle Frank" was married twice more, and remained actively engaged in business until his death, May 7, 1905, at the age of 93 years, 4 months and 22 days.

The last sentence of his autobiography expresses I think the key note of the document:

"you cannot tell what you can do untill you try.....see what Samuel Alison has done see what Simon ODonnel and many others have done, and you reader may do the same thus be incourage start in to win keep at it and success will come beyon your expectations luck to all."

[107] *Ibid.*, 80.

THE RAILROAD AND THE PRAIRIE.

C. A. Harper.

To the dweller in a small town, the arrival of the train is a matter of never-flagging interest. The village routine, economic and social, is to a great extent regulated by the train schedule. Whether or not "number one" is late today, is a topic of serious concern to the village banker, the village belle and the farmer. This interest is the subject of much merriment from the more sophisticated city dweller, at the expense of his small-town cousin. Yet, this concern in the coming of the train, is but indicative of the tremendous influence of the railroad in the economic and social life of the nation.

Nowhere perhaps in our country, can we find such a direct and immediate revolution in the life of a large section of territory, due to a single influence, as in the case of the prairies of central eastern Illinois. Within the decade 1850 to 1860, the coming of the railroad changed this portion of the state from the lair of the wolf, and the feeding ground of the deer, to the most prosperous and best cultivated agricultural region of the United States. Never have frontier conditions of life, and frontier attitudes and ideals been so quickly trampled under foot. Never has the commerce of a large section of country so quickly turned its back on long established trade routes. Never has the birth of energy, the sudden dawn of a new era been such a tangible thing as in central eastern Illinois between 1850 and 1860.

The prairies of Illinois have been the wonder of all who saw them. Every traveller was impressed with their majesty, their wild beauty. They inspired the same sense of awe as the sea or the great mountains. Travellers mentioned the prairies of Illinois as one of the great natural wonders of America, second only to Niagara Falls, and a sight which no tourist could afford to miss. Yet, like the desert, or the ocean, they were held to be too vast, too terrible to be conquered by the puny efforts of man.[1]

This was the impression of the prairies that first dominated Jolliet and his companions and made them hesitate to speak aloud when viewing them. But no proposition was too vast to appall the mind of the French Jesuit or imperialist. Hence, upon closer investigation, Jolliet reported that Illinois was most adaptable for settlement. "A settler would not there spend ten years in cutting down and burning the trees; on the very day of his arrival, he could put his plow in the ground. Thus he would easily find in the country his food and clothing."[2] This illustrates, not an actual, immediate possibility,

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[1] Flagg, Edmund, *The Far West* (1838), 214.
[2] Thwaites, R. G., *Jesuit Relations*, 59: 311.

but merely another of the mighty dreams of the visionaries of New France. Over a century later, a more practical man reported "a great part of the territory is miserably poor.....consisting of extensive plains which have not had, and from appearances will not have a single bush on them for ages. The districts therefore, within which these fall, will perhaps never contain a sufficient number of inhabitants to entitle them to membership in the confederacy."[3] Again, as late as 1850, an Englishman gives his impression; "a flat, wet, unhealthy country, which must be the graveyard of at least four generations, and four industrious generations too, who have spent their lives in draining marshes, burning up the half-decomposed vegetable matter, cultivating fields, opening canals, building good roads, and thus purifying the air, and accumulating comforts before it would be fit habitation for a gentleman and a christian."[4] This was the idea of most people, and it was very rare indeed to find a man with any experience in pioneer life, who thought that the prairies would ever be more than a feeding ground of cattle, and a game reserve for deer and prairie chickens.[5]

The obstacles to prairie settlement were more real than imaginary. True, many thought as did Monroe that land that was too poor to grow timber, was too poor to grow corn, yet, to many who realized the richness of the prairie soil, there were obstacles to settlement which far outweighed any advantages. In the first place, the pioneer's love for timber was not a sentimental one. It was necessary to his very life. It supplied him with shelter and fuel till his home was erected; it furnished the material for that home and its equipment. It gave him his fences and his barns. The woods furnished pasturage for his hogs which fattened on masts, acorns and roots. Where there was timber there was running water, fish and all kinds of game. Moreover, although it required labor to fell the forest giants, the ground beneath was easily turned over with his crude plow. On the contrary, on the prairie, he could not live. No windbreak protected him from the icy blasts: no lumber was there for fuel, building or fences; no water save green pools of slimy surface water supplied his needs. The prairie sod could not be turned with his crude plow and a single horse or ox.

These difficulties confronted the dwellers on the prairies down to the coming of the railroads, and operated as a very effective check on the population. The settler was usually forced to hire his ground broken the first time at a standard price of $2.50 per acre, this being twice as much as the land was worth.[6] Fencing involved an additional problem and expense. Perhaps the settler could "borrow" timber from some government land, and haul it to his farm, but if he bought rails or fencing, the cost was almost prohibitive. Rails

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[3] Hamilton, (ed), *The Writings of James Monroe*, Monroe to Jefferson, Jan. 1, 19, 1786.
[4] Peyton, J. Lewis, *Over the Alleghanies and Across the Prairies* (1859), 310.
[5] Palmer, Jno. M., *Personal Recollections of Jno. M. Palmer; the story of an earnest life.* 12.
Pooley, William V., *Settlement of Illinois*, 1820-1850. 540.
[6] Pease, Theodore C., *The Frontier State (Centennial History of Illinois, volume* 2) 173.

sold at $1.25-$2.00 per hundred, and to fence with wire was more expensive.[7] The digging and stoning of a well cost from $20-$30.[8]

With these obstacles in mind, what was the character, extent and distribution of the population in central eastern Illinois prior to the coming of the railroads? The development of steam navigation on the lakes, directed the stream of immigration, which general conditions and the spirit of immigration had jarred loose in the east by 1830, to the northern part of Illinois. From 1830 to 1850 there was a phenomenal immigration to northern Illinois. By 1850, the population of Illinois was 850,000, three-fourths living north of Vandalia.[9] Peoria was laid out in 1826, town plots of Macomb and Monmouth dated from 1831.[10] The land sales in the boom of 1835-37 were most evident in western and central Illinois offices. Yet the chief cities of Quincy, Peoria, Rushville, Peru, Ottawa, Joliet and Rockford were on or very near rivers.[11] The method of settlement had been to face the rivers. The first lands taken up were the timbered lands along the water courses. The prairies between two streams, if the streams were not too far apart, gradually were filled, as the fringe of settlement spread from the river. The process did not take place as regularly or as systematically as the following quotation would indicate, yet it is suggestive, "The first improvements are usually made on that part of the timber which adjoins the prairie, and thus we may see a range of farms circumscribe the entire prairie. The burning of the prairie is then stopped, thru the whole circuit in the neighborhood of these farms. This is done by plowing furrows all around the settlement. In a short time, the timber springs up spontaneously on all parts not burned, and the groves commence a gradual encroachment on the prairie. Bye and bye, another tier of farms springs upon the outside of the first, and further out in the prairies, and thus farm succeeds farm until the entire prairie is covered."[12]

Thus the conquest of the new lands came about by the gradual process of the frontier settlement. "The frontier line was never fixed and never regular, but constantly advancing. Its foremost point was always on the rivers and the small prairies between were later over run. This was the process of development which the border prairie counties Coles, Cumberland, Clark and Edgar were undergoing when the railroad revolutionized this method.[13]

While just enough people lived on the prairies of central eastern Illinois to make the question of transportation an acute one, the population as yet, was merely centered in the oasis of groves and streams, and had hardly begun to penetrate the great desert of prairie. Champaign County in 1850 had only 2,649 inhabitants, and Livingston

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[7] *Two Millions, Five Hundred Thousand acres of Land in Illinois, Belonging to the Illinois Central Railroad Company*, (1854) 22-24.

[8] *The Illinois Central Railroad Company Offers for Sale over 1,500,000 Acres Selected Farming and Woodlands* (1858) 72.

[9] Brownson, H. G., *The History of the Illinois Central Railroad to 1870 (University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, volume 4)* 12.

[10] *Peoria Register*, April 1, 1837, May 5, 1838.
Pooley, Wm. V., *Settlement of Illinois, 1830-1850.* 380-381.

[11] *Ibid.*, 572-573.

[12] Hancock, Wm., *An Emigrant's Five Years in the Free States of America* (London 1860) 283.

[13] Lee, Judson F., "Transportation, A Factor in the Development of Northern Illinois previous to 1860," Illinois Historical Society, *Journal*, Vol. X, 53.

county only 1,552.[14] "Southeast from Chicago, the engineers of the Illinois Central found an almost unbroken wild extending over 130 miles.[15] Mr. Ackerman, writing on the condition of the Chicago branch of the Illinois Central, writes, "In 1853 we rode for over twenty miles on this division without seeing a tree, a house or any living thing, save an occasional prairie dog."[16]

Let us summarize the actual conditions of life on the prairie prior to the coming of the railroads. In the first place, there was a marked contrast among the farmers of the prairie. On the one hand, there were the great cattle kings and large scale farmers, such as Funk, Harris, Strawn and Holderman; on the other, the poor pioneer farmer with his board shanty, his single yoke of oxen and half a dozen hogs. On the whole, the prairies, up to 1850, were still in the range stage. Great herds of cattle were pastured on the high prairie grass, then rounded up and driven in to Ohio to receive further fattening, prior to the stall feeding of Pennsylvania. This is the same combination of ranch, pasture and feeders that existed on the eastern slopes of the Alleghanies prior to the Revolution.[17] Men who engaged in the industry were men of some capital who had left the east with the proceeds of some old homestead or business establishment. In Illinois, they lived the life of the ranch owner on the great western plains in the '90s. They had the same problems to face, and developed the same technique in the ranging and marketing of cattle. Each of these cattle kings had recorded in a book, kept by the county clerk, certain ear marks and brands adopted by him for marketing his stock.[18] There was also the typical rancher's trouble with estrays, and to suppress the rustlers, societies and vigilant committees were organized. From the size of the enterprise, these great stock dealers were able to finance the proposition of getting their stock to market by means of long drives. They were also able to secure a good business by buying up the surplus stock of their small neighbors and selling it in eastern markets. The small farmer on the prairie presents a different picture. He was not so enterprising; in fact, there was no incentive for work. The only product he could get to market with profit was whiskey.[19] Only slight cultivation was needed to produce enough grain for the immediate use of his family and hogs. The amount of physical work involved made it impossible for the farmer to plant or gather more than a moderate yield. Shiftless methods of farming resulted.[20] A western settler would live many years on his farm without having a barn or other outbuildings, ecept a corn crib, and sometimes a stable, the dimensions of which corresponded to those of a poultry house.[21] "His family is compelled to live on 'hog and hominy,' and often pays the penalty in fever and ague, bilious fever, scrofula and the like. Where the straw-

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[14] Seventh Census, 718.

[15] Lee, Judson F., "Transportation. A Factor in the Development of Northern Illinois previous to 1860." Illinois Historical Society, *Journal*. Vol. X. 42.

[16] Ackerman, Wm. K., *Historical Sketch of the Illinois Central Railroad, together with a brief biographical record of its incorporators. and some of its early officers*, 48.

[17] Simmons, A. M., *Social Forces in American History*, 195.

[18] *History of Fulton County*. (1897) 249.

[19] *Illinois State Register*. Jan. 17. 1850.

[20] Brownson, H. C., "Early Ill. Railroads, the place of the Illinois Central railroad in Illinois history prior to the Civil War." In *Transactions* of Illinois State Historical Society (1908) 171.

[21] Farnham, Eliza W., *Life in Prairie Lands* (1846) 284.

berry bed should be, you will perhaps find a tobacco patch, and the hog pen has usurped the place of the currant bush."[22] The home of the settler was apt to have no floors, no windows, and only a platform covered with husks for a bed.[23] This is not typical, perhaps; in fact, the frontier was a varied affair. No one man or family was typical, yet the significant thing is, that this mode of living was not, at that time, the subject of remarks or particular notice in central eastern Illinois.

The amusements of the decade before the coming of the railroads were those of the frontier, and society exhibited much of the crudeness of the frontier wherever it was found. The males were indolent. Respect for the Sabbath and for religious observances were not generally very widespread,[24] yet the circuit rider was a common figure, and he was accepted for his society, as well as for religious consolation. An early resident of Paxton, Illinois, writes: "In 1853, Saturday was a holiday with the settlers. The men only, gathered at some agreed place and had a good time, which consisted of wrestling, foot racing and horse racing, consuming ample supplies of what was known as 'sore eye,' and with usually, at least, one satisfactory fight."[25]

The main problem in 1850 was one of transportation. The prairie land of Illinois seems to have developed to about as high an economic and social stage as was possible without more adequate means of transportation. "The condition of early country roads was wretched, almost to an extent beyond description. There were a few old corduroy roads and three or four government turnpikes, but they were short and ill kept. Fortunate, indeed, was the traveler who was not compelled to help pry the coach out of the deep mud, or wait till morning for a yoke of oxen to pull him out of some slough."[26] The rivers were the only source of trade and communication to the outside world, and the expense of moving products to the river towns from the interior was practically prohibitive, ten to twenty miles being as far as grain or other bulky goods could be hauled with any degree of profit.[27] "Every town would contain one or two merchants who would buy corn, wheat and dressed hogs in the fall, store them in warehouses on the river at some of the landings, and when the river opened in the spring would ship his winter's accumulation to St. Louis, Cincinnati or New Orleans for sale, and with the proceeds visit New York, and lay in a six months' supply of goods. So far as the farmer was concerned in all these transactions, money was an unknown factor. Goods were always sold on twelve months' time, and payment made with the proceeds of the farmer's crops. When the crops were sold and the merchant satisfied, the surplus was paid out in orders on the store."[28]

The railroads then were built through the prairies, partially for a need already felt by the inhabitants, and partially as an experiment in

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[22] *Illinois State Register*, March 13, 1850.

[23] Farnham, Eliza W., *Life in Prairie Lands* (1846) 64-66.

[24] *Ibid.*, 334-6.

[25] Taft, Oren B., "Early History of Paxton, Illinois" *Journal* of the Illinois State Historical Society, April, 1919. 33.

[26] Brownson, H. G., "Early Illinois Railroads, the place of the Illinois Central railroad in Illinois history prior to the Civil War," in *Transactions* of Illinois State Historical Society. (1908) 171.

[27] Brownson, H. G., *History of the Illinois Central Railroad to 1870*. 11.

[28] *History of Fulton Co.* (1879) 219-220.

opening up a vast wilderness of prairie. The Illinois Central was not built to pay by traffic earnings, but to open up land to settlement; while the Chicago & Alton, and the Toledo, Wabash & Great Western were built more with the idea of meeting commercial demands.[29]

The most noticeable result of the building of the railroads was the increase in population of the prairie counties. The increase from the year 1850 to 1860 in these counties being 157 per cent. This percentage does not tell the story of the prairies, for the border counties tributary to rivers were already fairly well settled in 1850. It is more marked if we consider the interior counties. Champaign County increased over 600 per cent, and is merely typical.

The Illinois Central offered a very wise land sales policy. Inducements were offered to actual settlement, and speculation was discouraged as much as possible.[30] The company offered much aid to immigration, gave a helping hand to settlers, and encouraged improvement of agricultural methods. With a general filling up of the government and railroad lands, there was the phenomenon of the growth of towns. New towns sprang up literally over night and old ones threw off the lethargy of years, secured a charter, and began to be cities. The growth of West Urbana (Champaign) and Mattoon are typical. West Urbana increased over 200 per cent in sixteen months; that is, from 416 in 1855 to 1,202 in 1857.[31] In the case of Mattoon, there was not a sign of human life in April of 1855, yet by August "there was a hotel, with another being erected, a post office, a dry goods store and two groceries erected, with a population of around four hundred.[32] The increase in the number of acres under cultivation is, of course, more striking. In the entire group of prairie counties the increase was from 744,000 acres in 1850 to 2,902,000 in 1860. Champaign County showed a 200 per cent gain, Livingston County nearly 300 per cent and Iroquois County over 100 per cent. All of this meant a decided increase in farm values. Even in the older counties as Sangamon, where the acreage under cultivation increased but little, the values of farms increased nearly 100 per cent. In LaSalle County farm values increased from one to seven millions, and it was one of the most highly developed of these counties in 1850.

Agriculture became revolutionized. Farming became a business, and a business in which the prairie dweller of Illinois had the advantage of the world. Hard times, low prices, panics, etc., had less effect on him than on farmers in any other section of the country. The editor of the Central Illinois Gazette, August 4, 1858, writes: "Hard times did not strike Champaign County. In West Urbana, no less than thirty buildings have gone up since the cessation of the spring rains, and the farmers, despite their inclination to grumble, are prospering. Transportation has solved the problem. The two great impediments to the settlement of our beautiful prairies—the want of fencing and fuel—are being solved by the railroads."[33] Grain and stock filled the cars going

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[29] N. Y. Herald, June 29, 1860, clipped in *Chicago Press and Tribune*, July 3, 1860.

[30] Chicago Daily Democratic Press, Nov. 21, 1854. See also the various bulletins issued by the I. C. Co., under the title, *Lands for Sale*, 1853-'54-'55-'56.

[31] Urbana Union, Jan. 8, 1857.

[32] Cole, Arthur Chas., *The Era of the Civil War*, 51 and *Chicago Weekly Democrat*, Sept. 1, 1855.

[33] *Canton Weekly Register*, May 28, 1853.

north and east, while lumber, merchandise and farm machinery supplied the return load. The inexhaustible stores of minerals were rendered accessible, and coal was not only applied to the operation of the engines on the railroad, but was also supplied to the farmer to be used as fuel.[34]

The farmer became more alert as new markets opened up and as prices increased and became more stabilized. Farm machinery was introduced. The broad, flat prairie was adapted to the use of machinery and the great demand of the east and Europe for grain could not be supplied in the west, where labor was scarce, unless mechanical inventions were brought to the aid of the grain grower. The opening of the prairies of Illinois served as an impetus to the invention and manufacturing of farm implements and machinery. "The decade, 1850 to 1860, witnessed the beginning of the practical use of horse-driven machinery for cutting and threshing grain. In Illinois, it was possible to use tools which could not be employed upon the stony, stumpy farms of New England and the Ohio valley. Factory methods in the production of agricultural machinery were impossible before the railroad system was sufficiently developed, to place a large number of farms within reach of a single, central point."[35] But even these new inventions did not satisfy the progressive farmer. He had visions of the steam plow turning over his level fields. Several trials were made at various places in central Illinois for the purpose of finding one which would do the work.[36] In a letter to *The Prairie Farmer,* a wealthy farmer proposes to be one of a hundred subscribers to a $50,000 fund, to be awarded as a premium for a perfected steam plow "suited to farm use, and capable of performing the labor at an expense, in money, not greater than the average cost of performing the same work under the present system."[37]

The distinctly modern attitude of the prairie farmer, after the coming of the railroad, is shown in the various meetings, associations and societies which they formed in the decade 1850-60. They organized to import blooded stock,[38] to protest against railroad rates,[39] to form cooperative wholesale purchasing and selling agencies in the great centers of commerce,[40] to improve the knowledge of agriculture, to raise the level of culture and education in the country.

Wheat, corn and stock were not the only crops which interested our new-made farmer. Diversified agriculture illustrates the desire of the wide awake, to experiment. Hemp,[41] "northern sugar cane," and all sorts of fruit and vegetables were tried, some with success. "Hog and hominy" was no longer the diet of large portions of the population. There was less and less difference between the poor small farmer and the large scale farmer in methods of farming, size of cultivated fields,[42] and in standards of living.

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[34] Coles, A. C., *The Era of the Civil War,* 49.
[35] Census of 1900—Bulletin 200 on "Agriculture Implements."
[36] Chicago Press and Tribune, July 25, 1859, March 24, 1858.
[37] Ottawa Free Trader, May 16, 1857.
[38] *Daily Democratic Press,* Jan. 29, 1857, Feb. 10, 1857, *Rushville Times,* Jan. 30, 1857, *Springfield State Register,* May 5, 1853, Aug. 4, 1857.
[39] *Our Constitution,* June 26, 1858.
[40] *Rockford Register,* Oct. 16, 1858.
[41] Cole, A. C., *The Era of the Civil War.* 82.
[42] Pooley, W. V., *Settlement of Illinois, 1830-1850,* 17.

New problems, new attitudes, new customs took the place of the frontier scheme of things. It was obvious to all progressive citizens, that more education was necessary, not only to improve agricultural methods in order to take advantage of expanding markets, but also to keep abreast of the rapidly expanding intellectual horizon ever widening with the telegraph, the daily newspaper, the traveller, and lecturer, which the railroad made possible.[43] It is significant that the most influential school journal, until the appearance of the *Illinois Teacher* in 1854, was the *Prairie Farmer*.[44] The title page stated rather emphatically that it was a journal dedicated to the cause of the common schools in Illinois. The passage of the free school law in 1855, was possible only because the farmers of the prairies of Illinois were energized and awakened by the coming of the railroad.

The entire intellectual life of central eastern Illinois was stimulated. The list of lecturers coming to Bloomington from 1853-56 represents names of national importance, and the solidity, and serious quality of their discourses illustrate the zeal of the people for education.[45] Indeed, by 1859, the editor of the *Rockford Republican* begs for relief from lecturers. He maintained there had been an average of six a week for six weeks, and the people were being lectured to death.[46] Such a condition was prevalent throughout Illinois, and it was a poor village indeed which could not support its "Lyceum Course."

The arrival of the many railroad laborers, the foreign immigration, and the establishment of a large class of employees in towns, incident to the railroad development, gave rise to fundamental changes in frontier democracy. Mrs. Johns, of Decatur, writes in her *Personal Recollections*, "the hordes of foreign laborers that railroad building brought to town, has disrupted society. The classes and masses began to segregate. The lawyer and merchant no longer danced with the mechanic and laborer. We began to speak of society. We had theaters, concerts, lectures and festivals. Literary societies, and musical unions superceded spelling contests and singing schools."

With the growth of towns new problems confronted the citizens; problems of sanitation, civic improvements such as lights and sewage, amusements, and new types of crime. It was during the five years of 1855-60 that most villages, towns, and cities in central eastern Illinois began to attack the problem of the "pig nuisance."[47] This forward attitude is well illustrated in the complaint of the *Springfield Journal*. "Our streets and alleys should be cleaned everywhere, especially in and around the neighborhood of the square. The brickbats, trash, old hats, old boots, and shoes, rags, bones, manure and many other things which grace our streets, should be hauled off, and hog-holes filled up. The crossings of most of our streets are in such bad conditions that a carriage cannot be driven over them at a trot, without endangering the springs."[48]

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[43] Cole, A. C., *The Era of the Civil War*, 58.

[44] Belting, Paul E., *"The Development of the Free Public High School in Illinois to 1860."* Illinois State Historical Society, *Journal*, (Jan. 1919) Vol. II, No. 4, 488.

[45] Hoover, Mary, "Extracts from Diary of Isaac Kenyon, with Reminiscences by Mary Hoover," The McLean County Historical Society, *Transactions*, 1903, Vol. II, p. 414.

[46] *Rockford Republic*, March 31, 1859.

[47] Cole, A. C., *The Era of the Civil War*, 4.

[48] *Springfield Journal*, Sept. 13, 1853.

Perhaps the clearest indication that the older order was passing, was the concern shown in regard to the increase of crime, and the new types of crime and criminals.[49] The railroads were charged with setting the fast pace. As a result, the *Urbana Clarion,* on October 29, 1859, proclaims that "young men and women are raised to extravagance. They are never taught the principles of economy. With affluence surrounding them on every side, brought up in indolence, with their minds vitiated by the constant perusal of the lascivious literature of the day, how can it be reasonably expected that they would be as pure in mind and intellect as those who have been reared to regard virtue as the palladium of everything enobling?"

I conclude that Professor Cole is entirely correct in his statement that "the coming of the railroads revolutionized life in the prairies of Illinois. The advent of the 'iron horse', his rapid multiplication, and his firey plunges thru the unsettled wilderness that separated the river valleys, trampled under foot the trappings of the frontier state, and furnished the power which produced industrial Illinois of today."[50]

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[49] *Belleville Democrat,* Jan. 23, 1858. *Chicago Daily Democrat and Press,* Aug. 13, 1859, July 28, 1857. *Springfield Journal,* Jan. 8, 1852.

[50] Cole, A. C., *Era of the Civil War,* 27.

E. Elmer Ellsworth

EPHRAIM ELMER ELLSWORTH, FIRST MARTYR OF THE CIVIL WAR.

LUTHER E. ROBINSON.

The tragic death of Colonel Ephraim Elmer Ellsworth, who was shot at Alexandria, Va., May 24, 1861, for hauling down a Confederate flag flying from the roof of a boarding house in the town, has some historical significance because it was symtomatic of the sectional bitterness that had been gathering with steady stubbornness since its historic outcropping in 1830 in the Webster-Hayne debate. The mutual disdain of the two sections, discernible in the protagonists of that event, deepened with the passing of the years until it infected the hearts of ordinary men, in whom party rancor and sectional prejudice exhibit their most irrational behavior. Not only was Ellsworth's cruel taking off significant of the smouldering ill temper with which the two sections were immediately approaching their desperate military contest; it hastened, also, the unity and resolution of public opinion at the North and created alertness and enthusiasm for enlistment in her incipient armies.

Ellsworth was born at Malta, a hamlet in Saratoga County, New York, April 11, 1837. His parents, Ephraim D. Ellsworth, a tailor, and Phoebe Denton Ellsworth, had been in comfortable circumstances until the financial confusion of that year left them almost penniless. The father was of English ancestry. His grandfather, while a boy of 15, attached himself to the American army which opposed Burgoyne. The mother, Phoebe Denton, came of English and Scotch stock and is described as a "Scotch Presbyterian." Young Elmer attended the district school at Malta, where he showed unusual taste for reading books and became a leader in the school games and sports. His impecunious father was never able to give the boy the educational opportunities he coveted. His mother looked carefully after his religious instruction, to which he was responsive. As a school boy he became an ardent partisan of temperance. His mother, in a forty-three page manuscript sketch of his life, written after his death and now in the State Library at Albany, N. Y., has recorded a good many "philosophical and original sayings" of her son.[1]

As he grew he developed a marked talent for sketching. A number of his drawings, at present held as loans by the Chicago Historical Society, are the property of Mrs. Charles Godfrey,[2] of Rockford,

[1] C. A. Ingraham, "Colonel Elmer E. Ellsworth: First Hero of the Civil War," in *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, I.4:1.

[2] Miss Carolyn Godfrey, of Rockford, Ill., in a letter to the writer, mentions Ellsworth's drawings, the property of her mother, Mrs. Charles Godfrey, as revealing Ellsworth's talent. Dr. Ingraham, op. cit., p. 358, reproduces a drawing by Ellsworth from an original in the Wisconsin Historical Library.

Illinois, surviving sister of Carrie M. Spafford, who at Rockford became, in 1859, the fiancee of young Ellsworth. While his parents lived at Malta, the boy held a clerkship in a store for about a year. He aspired to an appointment to West Point, but failed for want of adequate preparation. Shortly afterward his father made his home at Mechanicville, N. Y., where Elmer displayed a talent and a passion for military drill by organizing and directing the Black Plumed Riflemen at Stillwater, three miles north of Mechanicville. In 1852, at the age of 15, he clerked in a store at Troy. Already he had assumed responsibility for his own fortunes and was shifting for himself. Between 1853 and 1858 the details of his life are obscure. Dr. Charles A. Ingraham, of Cambridge, N. Y., his most authentic biographer, reproduces a letter published in the *Telegraph-Courier,* of Kenosha, Wis., by one Charles H. Goffe, under date of August 2, 1917, in which the author says he remembered that Elmer Ellsworth, in 1853, boarded with him at a Mrs. Bell's in Kenosha. He describes Ellsworth as a young man of "handsome features and fastidious ways, accentuated by a repelling hauteur and exclusiveness." He states that Ellsworth had few associates; that he attended a high school in Kenosha for a time and then suddenly dropped out of sight; that two years later, 1855, he discovered that Ellsworth had been adopted into a tribe of Ottawa Indians near Muskegon and had become its chief.

Dr. Ingraham discounts some of the more romantic details of Goffe's account of Ellsworth's association with the Indians, but credits the general fact of such a temporary connection. In 1855 we find the young man back in New York, now in the service of a company of engineers who were working upon the channel at Hellgate. This employment appears to have given him a chance to improve his military tactics by drilling with the Seventh Regiment in New York City. But the lure of bettering his fortune kept him on the wing. In company with several engineers, he returned to Chicago this same year, 1855. He found employment as clerk in the office of a patent solicitor, Arthur F. Devereux, from Salém, Mass. Later on, as a partner in this office, he lost all his savings through the defalcation of one whom he had trusted. Of this misfortune he wrote: "In an evil hour I placed confidence in an infernal scoundrel, was robbed of everything in a moment, saw the reward of three years' toil fade from my eyes when about to grasp it."

In 1858, at the age of 21, Ellsworth entered the law office of J. E. Cone, of Chicago, where he copied papers for his meagre living and began the study of law. He joined a gymnasium in charge of Dr. Charles A. DeVilliers, a skillful technician in military matters, who revived Ellsworth's interest in fencing and taught him the French Zouave system of tactics and uniform. His master had derived this system from his connection with a French regiment in the Crimean war. The French name Zouave was acquired from the Arabic Zwawa, the designation of a mountain tribe in Algeria whom the French were fighting in 1830. This warlike tribe wore an oriental costume of wide trousers, fez, loose jacket, suited to rapid movement and fierce daring. These features gave distinction to the drill maneuvers of the Chicago

Zouaves when later they excited the admiration of the nation for their superiority over all competing military companies.

During the summer of 1858 Ellsworth went to Rockford to direct the drill of the Rockford Grays, organized two years before. He rapidly transformed the tactics and efficiency of the Rockford company. Church's History of Rockford states that the Rockford Zouaves continued their organization until the outbreak of the Civil War, when many members of the company volunteered in the federal service and were sent to Cairo and Bird's Point for garrison duty. At Rockford Ellsworth enforced severe military discipline. This feature of his training is still remembered at Rockford. Mrs. Aurelia Towne has written me of an incident she witnessed during a public drill he staged in one of the halls of Rockford, at which a large crowd of spectators were present. Her future husband, a lad of 17, during the drill, was "casting smiles and side glances at the girls, when Ellsworth struck him across the knuckle with the flat of his sword" and shouted, "Towne, attention!" She speaks of the young Zouave's humiliation and lesson, and continues: "He received his military training from Ellsworth and afterward served three years and three months in the Civil War."

Ellsworth by this time was coming into demand as a drillmaster for military companies low in vitality and technique. He was invited, October, 1858, to Madison, Wisconsin, to drill the Governor's Guard, organized in February. The Illinois State Historical Society has a letter of Ellsworth's, dated from the "Capitol House," Madison, December 7, 1858, addressed to General S. B. Buckner, Chicago, stating that he would leave Madison "about the first of January," and asking that mail be sent him at Rockford. The following April he was elected commandant of the National Guard Cadets of Chicago, a company instituted three years earlier, but at a low ebb of activity. Abandoning their old name, they became the Chicago Zouaves, with headquarters in the Garret block, where the Central Music Hall now stands. To make the company morally and physically fit, "to place the company in a position," he said, "second to none in the United States," he enforced the most abstemious discipline, setting an example in his own conduct. He forbade the use of intoxicants by his men or their visit to pool halls or any place of questionable morality. He dismissed twelve of his best men at one time for breach of the rules, and although his company dwindled for a time, there was no mutiny. After two months' drilling under the new commandant the Zouaves gave a public drill in front of the Tremont House and won the admiration of critics, some of whom felt that Ellsworth's company could not be matched outside of West Point. He now felt that his discipline had justified itself against the spirit of unfriendly criticism locally expressed, including that of the *Chicago Tribune,* and he entered in his journal that night the heartfelt words, "Victory, and thank God."[3]

From this point his career turned in the direction of lasting fame. His struggle with poverty, made harder to bear by his native ambition and pride, had at last triumphed by dint of his strong character, his will to lead a clean life in the face of the temptations that easily beset youth and poverty.

[3] Personal Reminiscences of Col. E. E. Ellsworth," John Hay. *McClure's Magazine,* VI. 357.

The best revelation we have of Ellsworth's character is in his diary, begun on his twenty-second birthday, April 11, 1859, and continued for a brief period. In this document, which has lately come into the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society, he sets down his purpose in words that indicate unusual clearness and elevation of mind in a youth of his years. "I do this," he wrote, "because it seems pleasant to be able to look back upon our past lives and note the gradual change in our sentiments and views of life; and because my life has been, and bids fair to be, such a strange jumble of incidents that, should I become anybody or anything, this will be useful as a means of showing how much suffering and temptation a man may undergo and still keep clear of despair and vice."

The second day of his diary, April 12, 1859, contains a touching entry, which reveals concretely the problems of poverty which confronted his efforts to fit himself for professional self-subsistence. At this time he was a clerk and student in Mr. Cone's law office. Here are his words:

"Had an opportunity to buy a desk today, worth forty-five dollars, for fourteen dollars. It was just such a one as I needed, and I could sell it at any time for more than was asked for it. I bought it at auction. I can now indulge my ideas of order in the arrangement of my papers to the fullest extent. Paid five dollars of my own money and borrowed ten dollars of James Clayburne; promised to return it next Tuesday. By the way, this was an instance in a small way of the importance of little things. Some two years since, when I was so poor, I went one day into an eating house on an errand. While there Clayburne and several friends came in.

"As I started to go out they stopped me and insisted upon my having an oyster stew. I refused, for I always made it a practice never to accept even an apple from anyone, because I could not return like courtesies. While they were clamoring about the matter and I trying to get from them, the waiter brought on the oysters for the whole party, having taken it for granted that I was going to stay. So to escape making myself any more conspicuous by further refusal, I sat down. How gloriously everything tasted—the first food I had touched for three days and three nights. When I came to Chicago with a pocket full of money, I sought James out and told him I owed him half a dollar. He said 'no,' but I insisted my memory was better than his, and made him take it. Well, when I wanted ten dollars, I went to him and he gave it to me freely, and would take no security. Have written four hours this evening; two pounds of crackers; sleep on office floor tonight."

John Hay, who knew him intimately, tells us that Ellsworth was neat, "almost foppish in his attire; not strictly fashionable, for he liked bright colors, flowing cravats, and hats that suggested the hunter or ranger, rather than the law clerk;" that his "poverty was extreme," and that he "often lived for months together upon dry biscuits and water;" that he took a boyish pride in refusing offers of assistance, in resisting temptation to innocent indulgence, in passing most of his

hours in study, earning only enough by his copying to keep body and soul together.[4]

Several entries in the diary illustrate Mr. Hay's comments. Under date of April 13th he wrote: "Read one hundred and fifty pages of Blackstone; slept on floor." Again he writes: "I tried to read, but could not. I am afraid my strength will not hold out. I have contracted a cold by sleeping on the floor, which has settled in my head, and nearly sets me crazy with catarrh. There is that gnawing, unsatisfied sensation, which I begin to feel again, which prevents any long continued application."

Ellsworth was so attractive in personality that he could have had all sorts of favors in his extremity.[5] Church's History of Rockford speaks of him as a "splendid specimen of young manhood," and further that "he was received as a social lion by the young people of the city." He must have produced a similar impression in Chicago, where he appears to have held aloof from experiences that might impair his Spartan-like self-denial. Under date of April 14th he wrote: "According to promise, I went for Mrs. ——— and took her to Mrs. ——— at the Tremont house. The good woman insisted on paying my fare in the omnibus; she meant right, so I could not take offense at it. I simply insisted upon her dropping the matter, and I paid it myself (charged it to my dinner). Very pressing invitation, nay, command, to take dinner at Tremont with her and Mrs. ———; refused. Gentlemen, who, like me, live on crackers and water seldom dine at hotels. One pound of crackers; am living like a king; sleep on floor tonight." May 28th he wrote: "As I came back I stopped at Mrs. ———, told her it was not right for me to see her, and would not call there again, as was convinced it would work us both harm; told her I loved a young lady and was engaged to be married to her. She said that could make no difference in her feelings toward me. She was most persevering in her love. She has found out nearly the extent of my resources, and inisted upon my accepting money. To do her justice, she was as delicate about it as possible. I bade her good-by and came home in a perfect shower of rain. I dare not stay longer. Heavens! what a shame that such a magnificent woman should be bound to a man who appreciates her no more than he would a handsome horse or dog."

During this same month of May he wrote: "I am getting so weak that I do not seem to realize any benefit from sleep. I am almost getting to loathe the sight of crackers. If I had something else to eat, and enough of it, or if I could have regular meals, I could learn twice as fast and easily. It is no light task to confine your mind to your reading when your stomach is absolutely craving for food. If I get enough ahead by copying I will try some dried meat of some kind, and see if that will not produce a change."

Throughout his severe privation the young man maintained his connection as the most skillful member of the military company at the gymnasium or the armory. On his love for the military life Hay's testimony is this: "From his earliest boyhood he had a passionate love

[4] John Hay, op. cit.

[5] New York Tribune, an editorial, May 25, 1861, p. 4, speaks of Ellsworth's "soldierly bearing," his "unusually fine physique—frank and attractive manners."

of the army. He learned as a child the manual of arms; he picked up instinctively a knowledge of the pistol and the rifle; he became, almost without instruction, a scientific fencer."[6] Hay says that Ellsworth determined to become a lawyer because to all appearance he had no chance to enter the army. Corroborative of Hay's reference to his skill as a fencer, I give this excerpt from his diary entered under date of May 24th:

"This evening the fencer, of whom I have heard so much, came up to the armory to fence with me. He said to his pupils and several that if I held to the low guard he would disarm me every time. I raised my foil. He was a great gymnast, and I fully expected to be beaten. The result was I disarmed him four times, hit him thirty times; he disarmed me once and hit me five times. I touched him in two places at the same 'alaienze' and threw his foil from him several feet."

Ellsworth's more than local reputation as a drill-master of military companies began with a public drill of his Chicago Zouaves in front of the Tremont House, July 4th, 1859. From that event military critics began to take serious notice of the young man. On September 15th, at the Seventh Annual Fair of the National Agricultural Society, held in Chicago, the Zouaves won a $500.00 stand of colors in a competitive drill. The presence of only one competitor, however, created adverse comment among the older military companies of the country, who were inclined to deride the pretensions of the "prairie boys." Ellsworth promptly issued a challenge to any company in the United States or Canada to meet his company, and made plans to take his Zouaves on a competitive tour to meet military organizations unable to go to Chicago. The money needed was in part given by Chicago citizens and in part was earned by exhibition drills given en route. The itinerary, covering about six weeks of the summer of 1860, included Chicago, Adrian, Mich.; Detroit, Cleveland, Niagara Falls, Rochester, Syracuse, Utica, Troy, Albany, New York City, Boston, Charleston and Salem, Mass.: West Point, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Mount Vernon, Pittsburg, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Springfield, Illinois. The company returned to Chicago August 15th.[7]

Of this competitive tour, John Hay wrote: "He defeated the crack companies in all the principal eastern cities and went back to Chicago one of the most talked-of men in the country." John Gilmary Shea, in an account published in New York, in 1861, says of the tour: "The novelty of the dress, and the exactness and celerity of their evolutions, soon made the Chicago Zouaves known far and wide..... Their exercises were visited by crowds,—officers anxious to see and study, fair ladies to wonder, young men to be inspired by

[6] John Hay, op. cit.

[7] The sole survivor of the Chicago Zouaves is Major J. C. Barclay, born in Logan County, Kentucky, July 19, 1838. He lives at Carlinville, Illinois. He has given the writer many interesting reminiscences of Ellsworth, whom he knew intimately in Chicago, and of the competitive tour of the Zouaves. He states that, after the Zouaves gave their drill at West Point, Ellsworth, their commander, dropped to the rear and the company, without a word of command, went through the silent manual perfectly. Judges at West Point were: Jefferson Davis, Winifield Scott, S. B. Buckner, A. E. Burnside, George B. McClellan, and W. J. Hardee, author of "Hardee's Tactics." Davis, himself a West Point graduate, declared that he had seen the drills of the French Zouaves at Paris, of the Queen's Guards in England and of the best companies in America, but had never seen the equal of Ellsworth's Zouaves.

military zeal. In New York City, the Academy of Music was the scene of an exhibition which filled a house as densely as the most popular singer ever did." Dr. Charles A. Ingraham, of Cambridge, N. Y., who knows more about the life and character of Ellsworth than any other living man, says: "Though the tour was made for the purpose of inviting competition, not a company ventured to face them, all cheerfully according the palm of superiority."

Upon their return to Chicago, the Zouaves were given an ovation at the Wigwam where Lincoln had been nominated for the presidency the previous May 18th. Ten thousand people gathered to do honor to the military company conceded to be unmatched in America, probably unmatched in the world. Mayor Wentworth made the congratulatory speech, and the company was escorted to the Briggs house and banqueted at midnight.

Ellsworth, after severe struggles and self-discipline, had at last found his genius and was at the sun-rise of a brilliant career. But he was still immature in years. He was still moved by a consciousness of power which, although it promised somewhat of Napoleonic distinction, was unseasoned by the experience that directs rather than leads in heroic action. He had demonstrated his unquestioned originality and courage, and his ability to impart his personal spirit and confidence to a body of men under his control. He had shown his complete mastery of the problem of selecting and turning out capable troops, willing for any action, in the shortest time.

He went back to Springfield, Illinois, made the further acquaintance of Abraham Lincoln, then engaged in his campaign for the presidency, entered Lincoln and Herndon's office "ostensibly as a law student,"[8] made several campaign speeches for Lincoln, in which he showed ability to hold and interest an audience, for he was an easy and entertaining speaker. He apparently won Lincoln's endorsement of a project he was elaborating at the time for the "establishment in the War Department of a Bureau of Militia, by which the entire militia system of the United States should be concentrated, systematized, and made efficient." As Hay points out, this was an "enormous undertaking for a boy of twenty-three; but his plans were clear, definite, and comprehensive."

Accompanying the presidential party to Washington, Ellsworth was charged with the responsibility of superintending the crowds that greeted the incoming executive at cities where stops were made. After the inauguration, Lincoln made Ellsworth a lieutenant of dragoons, apparently a temporary position. There has been published an unsigned letter written by the President to the Secretary of War, dated "Executive Mansion, March, 1861," which requested that Ellsworth be detailed for "special duty as adjutant and inspector-general of militia affairs, for the United States, and insofar as existing laws will admit, charge him with the transaction, under your direction, of all business pertaining to the militia, to be conducted as a separate bureau, of which Lieut. Ellsworth will be chief." This order, whose transmission was not executed, probably events suspended it, directed

[8] Hay, op. cit., p. 358.

that separate rooms and office equipment and compensation be provided for Ellsworth.

In an article written for the *Atlantic Monthly* a few weeks after the death of Colonel Ellsworth, John Hay reproduced the scheme of duties of the proposed Bureau of Militia which Ellsworth drew up for the President's consideration. The paragraphs are as follows:[9]

"First—The gradual concentration of all business pertaining to the militia now conducted by the several bureaus of this department.

"Second—The collection and systematizing of accurate information of the number, arm, and condition of the militia of all classes of the several states, and the compilation of yearly reports of the same information of this Department.

"Third—The compilation of a report of the actual condition of the militia and the working of the present systems of the General Government and the various States.

"Fourth—The publication and distribution of such information as is important to the militia, and the conduct of all correspondence relating to militia affairs.

"Fifth—The compilation of a system of instruction for light troops for distribution to the several States, including everything pertaining to the instruction of the militia in the school of the soldier,—company and battalion, skirmishing, bayonet, and gymnastic drill, adapted for self-instruction.

"Sixth—The arrangement of a system of organization, with a view to the establishment of a uniform system of drill, discipline, equipment, and dress, throughout the United States."

Shortly after receiving the President's commission as lieutenant, Ellsworth fell ill of measles. During his convalescence, when the Confederate guns were being trained upon Fort Sumter, he said to John Hay, who sat by his bedside: "You know I have a great work to do, to which my life is pledged; I am the only earthly stay of my parents; there is a young woman whose happiness I regard as dearer than my own; yet I could ask no better death than to fall next week before Sumter. I am not better than other men. You will find that patriotism is not dead, even if it sleeps."[10] Circumstances were revealing the fact that Ellsworth preferred action in the field to the administration of a military office. He may have obeyed an impulse of his genius to inspire soldiers for the fight he believed unavoidable, or he may have followed a plain conviction that duty required the contribution of his personal effort to vanquish the rebellion of the seceding States. At any rate, when Sumter was summoned to surrender April 11th, on his twenty-fourth birthday, he threw up his commission in the regulars, and borrowing money from his friend Hay, hastened to New York city, where within three weeks he raised a regiment of 1,100 among the firemen of the city.

President Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers on April 15th. Ellsworth went to New York on the 17th. On the 18th, the following notice appeared in several New York papers:[11]

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[9] John Hay, *"Atlantic Monthly,"* VIII: 123, 124.

[10] Hay, *"McClure's Magazine,"* op. cit., p. 359.

[11] Julius C. Burrows, dedicatory oration, reproduced in "Ellsworth Monument Exercises," New York, 1874.

"The New York Fireman Zouave Regiment."

"Colonel Ellsworth, of Zouave fame, has commenced the organization of a Zouave regiment in this city, to be composed entirely of members of the Fire Department. None are to be received but those who have done service in the department and are able bodied men, and are willing to submit to the hardships that are encountered by volunteers. A meeting of the chief of the department and leading members will be held this morning, in order to make a final decision as to what course they will pursue.

"In connection with the above the following poster has been distributed:

"DOWN WITH SECESSION."

"THE UNION MUST AND SHALL BE PRESERVED."

"To the members of the New York Fire Department:

"The Government appeals to the New York Fire Department for one regiment of Zouaves. The subscriber is detailed in New York for the purpose of drilling and equipping the regiment after being organized. The companies will be allowed to select their own officers.

"Col. Ellsworth,
"Of Chicago Zouaves."

On April 19th, the New York Herald contained this notice:

"THE FIRE DEPARTMENT ZOUAVES."

"One of the prominent features of the expedition to be sent from this city, for the defense of the federal government, will be the military corps organized from the brave firemen of New York. Colonel Ellsworth of the Chicago Zouaves has deeply interested himself in this movement and has in connection with the principal officers of the Fire Department of the city issued the following circular:

"To the Firemen, Officers, Active and Exempt Members and Friends of the Fire Department:

"Gentlemen: We are entering upon a struggle for the maintenance of our government, our institutions and our national honor. The compliment has been paid you of applying for a full regiment of your own men. The firemen of New York must give an account of themselves in this contest. We appeal to you to turn out and give Ellsworth a regiment of firemen who can sustain the name of the New York Fire Department under any and all circumstances."

On April 20th, Colonel Ellsworth issued his first order as follows:

"First Regiment New York Zouaves:

"The members of the above organization will assemble at their company headquarters this evening at 7 o'clock, proceed to Palace Garden for the purpose of final organization and election of officers.

"By order of
"E. E. ELLSWORTH,
"Colonel Commanding."

The meeting at the Palace Garden showed over 1,200 men had already enrolled in Ellsworth's regiment. He was unanimously elected colonel. On the 22nd it was found that the rolls were full for two companies of each letter of the regiment. Ellsworth placed the companies opposite each other and selected those he wished to go to the front. On the 25th, the men were uniformed."[12] Since the State did not furnish them with arms, "Ellsworth appealed to the men whose generosity and patriotism had enabled him to raise the regiment. They nobly responded by subscribing some $60,000," with which to purchase Sharpe's rifles. On the 29th of April the regiment embarked on the steamer Baltic and arrived in Washington on May 2nd, where it was given "an ovation," says Lieutenant Brownell, "equalizing that which had attended their departure from New York."[13]

The spirit with which Ellsworth and his New York Zouaves entered the service of the government cannot be better indicated than by the closing sentences of his response to the presentation to his regiment of a beautiful stand of colors by the president of the Fire Department:

"And what I say for myself, I say for all of them, that so long as any of us live, so long as one single arm responds to the promptings of the heart, this flag will not be disgraced by any act of the New York Zouaves. We shall carry that flag into battle. On behalf of the regiment I will say, that should we come back, we will bring back these colors as pure and unsullied as they are now. To this we pledge our lives."

Nearly 20,000 troops had gathered in Washington by the first of May. The Washington Star of the seventh voiced the sentiment at the capital when it spoke editorially of the intentions of the Confederate Government: "The scheme of the oligarchy was to have attacked this city sometime between daybreak of the 18th and daybreak of the 21st ultimo. They had been led to believe that the Virginia ordinance of secession would have been pushed through the convention a few days before that was accomplished and that the troops of that State would have been able to take Washington by surprise, between the dates we have named above." Virginia seceded April 17th, the day Ellsworth started for New York. To forestall possible attack on Washington, General Scott, head of the federal army, planned to take Alexandria, seven miles below the city, on the Virginia side of the Potomac. The expedition was to move secretly from Washington on the early morning of May 24th. On the evening before, Ellsworth prepared his men for the movement in these words:

[12] *Ellsworth Memorial Exercises*, New York, 1874.
[13] *Ibid.*

"Boys, yesterday I understood that a movement was to be made against Alexandria. I went to see General Mansfield, and told him I would consider it a personal affront, if he would not allow us to have the right of line, which is our due as the first volunteer regiment sworn in for the war. All I can say is, prepare yourself for a nice little sail, and at the end a skirmish. Go to your tents, lie down, and take your rest till 2 o'clock, when the boat will arrive, and we go forward to victory or death. When we reach the place of destination, act as men, as well as soldiers, and treat them with kindness until they force you to use violence. I want to kill them with kindness. Go to your tents and do as I tell you."[14]

Going to his tent he wrote the two following letters, found on his person after his death. The first was to his parents, at Mechanicville, New York:[15]

"My dear Father and Mother: The regiment is ordered to move across the river tonight. We have no means of knowing what reception we are to meet with. I am inclined to the opinion that our entrance to the City of Alexandria will be hotly contested, as I am informed that a large force has arrived there today. Should this happen, my dear parents, it may be my lot to be injured in some manner. Whatever may happen, cherish the consolation that I was engaged in the performance of a sacred duty; and tonight, thinking over the probabilities of tomorrow, and the occurrences of the past, I am perfectly content to accept whatever my fortune may be, confident that He who noteth even the fall of a sparrow will have some purpose even in the fate of one like me.

"My darling and ever-loved parents, good-bye. God bless, protect and care for you.

"ELMER."

The second letter was to Miss Carrie M. Spafford, his fiancee, at Rockford, Illinois:[16]

"My own darling Kitty: My regiment is ordered to cross the river and move on Alexandria within six hours. We may meet with a warm reception and my darling among so many careless fellows one is somewhat likely to be hit. If anything should happen—Darling just accept this assurance, the only thing I can leave you—the highest happiness I looked for on earth was a union with you—you have more than realized the hopes I formed regarding your advancement. And I believe I love you with all the ardor I am capable of—you know my darling any attempt of mine to convey an adequate expression of my fellings must be simply futile—God bless you as you deserve and grant you a happy and useful life and us a union hereafter. Truly your own, Elmer.

"P. S. Give my love to mother and father (such they truly were to me), and thank them again for all their kindness to me—I regret I can make no better return for it. Again goodbye. God bless you my own darling. "ELMER."

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[14] *Ellsworth Memorial Exercises*, op. cit.

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] C. A. Ingraham, op. cit. Dr. Ingraham has reproduced this letter for the first time. He has been the most untiring and faithful historian of Ellsworth. His biography of Ellsworth is in press and being published by the Chicago Historical Society. This biography is the first adequate recognition of Ellsworth thus far.

At two o'clock Friday morning, May 24th, Ellsworth's regiment embarked upon three transports, the James Guy, the Mount Vernon, and the Baltimore, and at sunrise disembarked, unopposed, at the wharf at Alexandria. With a few men from Company A, he started "double quick" to seize the telegraph office and dispatches. As they entered the city on the run, Ellsworth noticed a Confederate flag floating from a staff on the roof of the Marshall house, a flag, says John Hay, he had often seen from a window of the Executive Mansion. With a few soldiers and one or two civilians, Ellsworth rushed into the hotel, and up the stairway, to the roof. Hauling down the flag, they were descending the stairway when, suddenly, the proprietor, James W. Jackson, standing a little below, raised a double-barrel shot gun and discharged the contents of one barrel into the left lung of the colonel, who held the captured flag in his hand. The slugs of this shot drove a military insignia, a gold circle, against the victim's heart. It was inscribed with the legend, *Non nobis, sed pro patria.*

E. H. House, a correspondent of the New York Tribune, who accompanied Ellsworth and his men up the stairway, wrote thus of the descent and the tragedy:

"I think my arm was resting on Ellsworth's shoulder at the moment. He was on the second or third step from the landing, and he dropped forward with that heavy, horrible, headlong weight, which always comes of sudden death inflicted in this manner. His assailant had turned like a flash to give the contents of the other barrel to Francis E. Brownell, a private, but either he could not command his aim, or the Zouave was too quick for him, for the slugs went over his head, and passed through the panels and wainscot of the door. Simultaneously with his second shot, and sounding like an echo of the first, Brownell's rifle was heard and the assassin staggered backward. He was hit exactly in the middle of the face, and the wound, as I afterward saw it, was one of the most frightful I ever witnessed. Of course Brownell did not know how fatal his shot had been, and so, before the man dropped, he thrust his sabre bayonet through and through the body, the force of the blow sending the dead man violently down the upper section of the flight of stairs, at the foot of which he lay with his face on the floor."

After the tragedy and its swift retribution, Ellsworth's body was taken to Washington on the steamer James Guy; from the Navy Yard it was removed by order of President Lincoln to the East Room of the White House, where a funeral was held. The New York Tribune of May 26th, speaking editorially of the tragedy, said: "Zouave Brownell, who killed Jackson, was the object of much attention as he walked in line with his eyes red with weeping and bearing the secession banner bathed with Ellsworth's blood. President Lincoln approached Brownell and shook his hand."[17] The body of the brave Zouave leader was taken to Mechanicville for interment.

The North was grief-stricken at the news of Ellsworth's assassination. The spirit of revenge stirred the hearts of many. The loyal newspapers everywhere deprecated the tragedy as indicative of the

[17] *New York Tribune*, May 27, 1861, p: 4.
After the death of Ellsworth, President Lincoln appointed his father to a position at the Vergennes (Vt.) Arsenal, where he remained until he was retired on a pension.

spirit of those behind the secession movement. The New York Tribune perhaps voiced the general feeling of federal sentiment in its reaction to the deed when it said: "Let the barbarians be taught that we are in earnest; that since they have invoked war they shall have war—rigorous, unrelenting, but honorable war, that shuns alike the secret poison and the assassin's arm, and will punish unsparingly the use of either."[18]

I have talked with a good many veterans of the Civil War to see how clearly they remembered the event of Ellsworth's death sixty-two years ago and to ascertain what they would say about it. Not only have they remembered the event, but they were at one in their testimony of the excitement and grief it brought to those in sympathy with the Union cause. One of the youngest of these veterans, who went into the war at sixteen, as a drummer boy, (John Dalton, Monmouth, Ill.) told me two days ago that he recalled the death of Ellsworth as clearly as that of Lincoln, four years later; that his community in Ohio mourned Ellsworth deeply and that all the people loved him. I have been surprised at the extent of his popularity in the North and at the unanimity with which his military genius is still remembered with affection. He impressed his personalty upon hs generation. A contemporary wrote that " A hundred Ellsworths had saved the land."[19]

A monument to Ellsworth's memory was dedicated at Mechanicville, May 27th, 1874. Hon. Julius C. Burrows, member of Congress from Michigan, delivered the dedicatory oration. Many tributory verses and songs have been written in his memory. Perhaps nothing so heartfelt and memorable has found expression as the letter of President Lincoln to Ellsworth's parents, written the day after the young hero's death. The President said:[20]

"In the untimely loss of your noble son, our affliction here is scarcely less than your own. So much of promised usefulness to one's country, and of bright hopes for one's self and friends, have rarely been so suddenly darkened as in his fall. In size, in years, and in youthful appearance, a boy only, his power to command men, was surpassingly great. This power, combined with a fine intellect, and indomitable energy, and a taste altogether military, constituted in him, as it seemed to me, the best natural talent, in that department, I ever knew. And yet he was singularly modest and deferential in social intercourse. My acquaintance with him began less than two years ago; yet through the latter half of the intervening period, it was as intimate as the disparity of our ages, and my engrossing engagements, would permit. To me, he appeared to have no indulgences or pastimes; and I never heard him utter a profane or intemperate word. What was conclusive of his good heart, he never forgot his parents. The honors he labored for so laudably, and, in the sad end, so gallantly gave his life, he meant for them, no less than for himself.

"In the hope that it may be no intrusion upon the sacredness of your sorrow, I have ventured to address this tribute to the memory of my young friend, and your brave and fallen child.

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[18] *Ibid.*, May 28, 1861, p. 4. See also John G. Nicolay, The Outbreak of the Rebellion, p. 114.
[19] Shea, *The Fallen Brave*, New York, 1861.
[20] Robinson, *Abraham Lincoln as a Man of Letters*, page 303f.

"May [illegible] give you the consolation which is beyond all earthly power.

"Sincerely your friend in common affliction.

"A LINCOLN."

There were those who felt that Colonel Ellsworth acted rashly on the occasion which produced his death.[21] Mr. Burrows, in his memorial address, is authority for the statement that President Lincoln, speaking to some visitors of the sad tragedy, while the dead body of his young friend was lying in the White House, exclaimed: "Poor fellow! it was undoubtedly an act of rashness, but it only shows the heroic spirit that animates our soldiers, from high to low, in this righteous cause of ours." A study of Ellsworth's career, even now, moves one to speculate on what eminence he might have achieved in the military service of his country had fortune spared his life throughout the contest. I can easily understand the feeling of John Hay in the words with which he closes his essay on Ellsworth.[22] "It is the belief of his friends that he had not his superior in natural capacity among the most eminent heroes of the war. But who will care to hear this said? If Napoleon Bonepart had been killed at the siege of Toulon, who would have listened to some grief-stricken comrade's assertion that this young Corsican was the greatest soldier since Caesar? I have written these lines merely to show how simple, kindly, and heroic a heart Colonel Ellsworth had—and not to claim for him what can never be proved."[22]

A GROUP OF ELLSWORTH'S LETTERS.

The following letters written by Ellsworth have been selected for publication here from among a large number belonging to Mrs. Charles Godfrey, of Rockford, Illinois. Mrs. Godfrey inherited from her sister, formerly Miss Carrie Spafford, fiancée of Colonel Ellsworth, very many historic mementoes of the young hero who fell at Alexandria. These letters are given as representative, and to exhibit to readers of our Civil War history the splendid character and elevation of mind of the first field officer of the Union forces to fall at the hands of the Confederates of 1861. It is appropriate that these personal letters of Col. Ellsworth be made accessible to the public in a publication of the State Historical Society both as a tribute to his high character and personality and for their historic interest. I have taken only a minimum of editorial privilege in preparing the letters for this purpose. I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mrs. Charles Godfrey and her daughter Carolyn for their kindness in permitting me to reproduce in this form the originals in their possession.

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[21] Major Barclay, already referred to as the last survivor of the Ellsworth Zouaves, after the return of the famous company from its competitive tour, went back to his native state, Kentucky, and later entered the military service of the Confederacy as drill-master of infantry at Camp Washington, near Richmond, Va. He had several conversations with Jefferson Davis about Ellsworth and his military genius and quotes Davis as saying that he deeply regretted the manner in which Ellsworth was killed. Davis introduced Barclay to General Robert E. Lee, who expressed the [illegible] that Ellsworth, as a field officer, had acted rashly in hauling down the Confederate flag with his own hands instead of sending a detachment of soldiers for the purpose. General Lee told Barclay it was his belief that, had Ellsworth survived, he might have became the commanding general of the Union armies. Lee expressed the highest admiration for the military talents of young Ellsworth.

[22] McClure's Magazine, op. cit.

Capitol House, December 13th, 1858.

My Dear Carrie:

Your note was duly received, and read with pleasure. Are you trying to cultivate that much to be admired virtue, brevity? If so, allow me to congratulate you upon success. If you only knew how valuable your letters become by the time they reach this dull settlement, you would write letters of almost fabulous length, out of pure compassion for your unworthy correspondent. To prove my generosity, I am quite *willing* to accept an eight page letter, as evidence of your penitence.

I regret that I could not have been present at your birthday party, to offer you my congratulations in person. Although wishes are of little avail in this perverse world of ours, I may be permitted to add mine to those of your numerous friends. I will not wish you " a life of unclouded happiness" for that I fear can hardly be realized by any of us. But I will wish, dear Carrie, what may, and I trust will be realized—that your life may be that of a true hearted, noble woman; unmarred by a thought, or deed to which in after years you cannot refer with pleasure—an ornament not only, but a blessing to society, and your friends.

"Angels attend thee! May their wings
Fan every shadow from thy brow;
For only bright and lovely beings,
Should wait on one so pure as thou."

I appreciate your sympathy, dear Carrie, but I would not shift my trials, as you kindly term them, to any other shoulders than my own. Every one must experience some trouble and disappointment. To separate gold from its dross, it must be exposed to the action of fire—so with man, uninterrupted prosperity is not favorable to the development of his capabilities. The energies of a true man rise in proportion to the obstacles to be encountered. I would feel *ashamed*, if *you* were to think me desponding or unequal to exertion. I only ask health, strength and opportunity.

Three weary weeks, and I am free from this place. I hope to arrange my affairs so as to visit Rockford the first week in January. After which I hope to visit my home and parents, perhaps for the last time in many years. I sometimes think I shall never again leave them, but I go that I may the sooner realize my wishes for them and others.

You do not mention your friends with whom we passed an evening so pleasantly; I allude to your pastor and wife—I cannot recall the name. Are they well? I am interrupted dear Carrie, and if I do not close this letter now, it is impossible to tell when I shall be able to do so. You must pardon me for urging you to write longer letters. In my momentary selfishness, I forgot how much your time must be occupied with your studies—I would be content with a line, rather than you should neglect them for me.

Sincerely and truly yours.

Ellsworth.

P. S. Is Mr. Smith in town? I wrote to him last week but have received no answer. E.

Ellsworth to his parents at Mechanicville, N. Y. From copy made by Carrie Spafford at Mechanicville, while visiting Ellsworth's parents.

Springfield, Dec. 7.th, '60.

My Dear Father and Mother:

Both of your letters came duly to hand. Did you not receive a long letter from me speaking about the appointment I wanted, of chief clerk and about our going to Washington, in case I succeeded?

I find no mention of it in your letters. If you did not get it let me know. I think it was written two weeks since.

My dear Father, you do not realize how glad I am to hear that you are realizing a change of mind and heart. I *do* pray for you, and have done so every night since I left home. The last words uttered at night are prayers that you and mother may both experience that joy of faith in God, and that I may be enabled to make your old age happy, and free from care, and the pleasure is greater because I am convinced that nothing in the world will contribute so much to my happiness—I mean, light-hearted, ever present peace and contentment of spirit, as faith and love of God. It is no part of religion to be gloomy, cast down, and regretful. Our God is one to *love not fear,* and the nearer we come to feeling that everything that occurs is by His hand and for some good purpose, and that the true way to worship is with a *light heart* the better Christians are we.

Our dispositions are very much alike in this respect, we are too apt to look on the dark side, and brood over our troubles, but while we have this disposition let us think, and reason a moment, and by comparison, see how much we have to be thankful for.

If I fail in any attempt and am for a moment disposed to murmur, a moment's reflection shows me hundreds of people who would be made perfectly happy by the possession of what I value so little. If my food is plain and poor, I can remember when I had none. If my bed is hard I can recollect the time when I have walked the street all night for the want of a place to lie down, and so, it is no trouble for me to thank God with a full heart *every day* for what I *know* to be blessings *far beyond* my desert, and as I kneel down at night, the thought comes over my mind that I once had a brother who I would gladly have shared my happiness—a feeling of sorrow may fill my heart, and tears rush to my eyes as they do now—yet—a moment's thought tells me that I am not, *cannot* be weeping for *him,*—these are selfish tears. They are for ourselves, he is far happier than we. He is beyond care—knows no care or sorrow, and for every joy we feel he enjoys a thousand fold. He can see us and *know our thoughts.* However great may be the separation, it is only on *one side,* we separated from *him,* and our mourning is for ourselves. These thoughts pass through my mind, and I am content to thank God for his mercy and go to sleep with a perfectly happy heart.

It is only of late since Charley's death, that I have entertained these thoughts, but they have made me happier than I ever was before.

Now dear mother, write when you can and speak of Charley as often as you desire—and do not mourn. God does not require it. It is almost a reflection upon him to say, in effect, that the departed are less happy and to be regretted. Look around and see how many have greater cause for sorrow.

Let us thank God for the blessings we enjoy, and repay Him by being happy at all times, and in all places.

Write soon—your affectionate son,

ELMER.

Ellsworth to Carrie Spafford:

Chicago, Feb. 14th, 1860
2 o'clock Tuesday morning.

MY OWN DARLING CARRIE:

I experience a great pleasure in feeling, as I do this moment, that after the toil, uncertainty and vexation of the day, I can communicate with one who will sympathize with and cheer me. When struggling for success in some project where the chances are so nicely balanced that you tremble alternately with uncertainty and hope, it is delightful to feel that, after all, the one for whom you care most will not be affected by the result,—that, in any event, you are sure of the love and good opinion of the one above all else dear to you. My darling, you have no conception of the magnitude and difficulty of the project I've undertaken, nor does any one of the company even, for it is policy on my part, to keep them in ignorance of the real difficulties attending it;—the contemplation of a tithe of them would discourage them. You can imagine how urgent must be the necessity, when at a distance of nearly six months from the contest, I have found it impossible to get along without working (writing) for the last week until five or six o'clock in the morning. There is one certainty, *if I do succeed,* I will never afterward regard any difficulty, however great, impossible to overcome.

Kitty, darling, I cannot write a long letter tonight, and I'm afraid if I keep it till tomorrow night to finish, I shall not be sure of a chance to write anything. I send two extracts from papers which will compensate for the length (or rather want of it) of my letter. There's one thing I can do, now I think of it, I can copy for you my contribution to the autograph book of the gentleman to whom we presented the medal—not that it will particularly interest you, but it will fill up space, and I'm fit for nothing else tonight (morning) but copying.

It was written one night after drill, in a hurry, and being my first attempt in that vein, I trust you will make due allowances;—criticise gently. Here it is: "Friend Alfred: In reality, you are but just entering upon life in *earnest.* Hitherto, it has been the aimless pleasure seeking boy, having no care for the future; hereafter, it must be the toil and struggle of the man with the stern *realities* of life. For you, the 'Tide,' which, 'taken at its flood leads on to fortune is now at hand. Launch your bark fearlessly, placing your trust in Him 'who holdeth the winds in his hand.' Let *Resolution* and *Integrity* stand at the helm; for your chart, take *honor, perseverance* and *generosity,* and let conscience be your compass. God has set his own stamp upon it. Keep

it always in sight. Guard it carefully, and consult it often. When, as you sail down the 'stream of life' you see on either hand apparently beautiful islands, which, seemingly, invite you to enjoy their fruits—unless *unmistakably* defined *within the limits of your* chart, depart not, however little, from the course your *compass* marks as *true.* Shun them, as you would perdition; about them lie hidden rocks, beyond them, a maelstrom of resistless power, into whose vortex you, like others, may be engulfed if once drawn within the fatal circle of its influence. And, when your voyage draws near the close, may you ride safely at anchor in the harbor of Happiness and content. When, at last, the time arrives to 'up anchor' and sail for the world beyond, may your *'clearance be regular,'* and the experience of this life have been such, that you will set out with the *joyous certainty* of making port in the regions of eternal happiness."

Quite *white-neck-clothish,* for me, isn't it? Now my darling Kitty, I must bid you goodbye; when you write, tell me what you are studying, and *all about* your school matters. Remember, your letters, are the only *gleams of sunshine,* at present, in my dark existence.

Accept a thousand kisses from your own Elmer.

P. S. What I told you of my working so late is strictly *Private.*

PART OF A LETTER WRITTEN TO MRS. CHARLES H. SPAFFORD, MOTHER OF MISS CARRIE SPAFFORD, UNDER DATE OF MAY 15TH, 1859:

How is Mr. Smith progressing in his studies? Give him and Mr. Edwards my regards. When you remove from Rockford you must certainly induce Mrs. Edwards, Mrs. Smith and Miss Saw, to accompany you. I hope I may some day be enabled to render them some slight return for their kindness to me.

Has Mr. Spafford decided to leave Rockford, or remain? I shall be delighted to have you reside here, provided you could secure a pleasant location.

Some gentlemen of the city have collected a large number of works of art, owned by the citizens, and placed them on exhibition. Among them are some very valuable paintings by well known artists. I wish you were here to see them. I think you would enjoy it exceedingly. I pass the rooms when going to Gen. Swift's, and yesterday I stopped a few minutes. I saw Miss Holland and her brother, who has lately returned from college. I met Mr. Tinker, also, who had come from Rockford quite unexpectedly on business.

You ask for my address, it is—room 5, Rice's Building, No. 79 Dearborn St., nearly opposite the postoffice.

How can I ever thank you for your generous expression of confidence? I am *utterly unable* to convey to you any *adequate* expression of my appreciation of your affection. But one short year since I acknowledged no friend, and within myself held all at defiance, and, goaded on almost to madness by disappointment and misfortune, bid fate do its worst. This was not the result of *trivial disappointment* or *trouble,* but in consequence of *suffering most terrible* rendered more

poignant by a pride which forced me to bear in silence and alone, what *now* seems utterly impossible. *I was not bad*—I had no time to spend in folly—my mind was filled with one resolve and that forced me through trials and temptations, I trust, unscathed. Such experience as this has one of two effects, I(t) breaks all principles of good, eradicates all the better feelings from the heart of man, and if he be possessed of strong passions, make him a very demon in human form, or, while it tortures, makes him self-reliant—the very extent of his suffering makes him the more readily sympathize with others, and the hollow hearted selfishness of the majority of the world in which he moves thus made apparent to him, without dispossessing him of his better impulses and feelings, makes him *lock them in his heart*, as the only tie which binds them to his God, and tho suspicous of proffers of friendship, yet when *assured* of its *purity*, he cherishes it as a Christian his hope of salvation; like the star of the shepards (herds), it guides him on through the rocks and quicksands of life—arms him against temptation and misfortune by rendering every ill of life insignificant, when compared with the priceless treasure of pure affection. When the clouds of misfortune gather darkly about him, he turns to this, and feels in his heart this affection burning brightly, shedding a radiance over his pathway which no misfortune can obliterate, or machination of enemies rob him of, though instigated and framed with all the ingenuity of sathanas himself.

This is strong language, but it comes from the heart—it is but the natural feeling aroused by the constantly recurring attempts of those who *know me so well*, to blacken my reputation, and steal from me the happiness they fear I *may* enjoy. How they would hug themselves with very satisfaction, could they but see me begin a course of dissipation, or commit *any act* which would *confirm their assertion*.

I have never harmed these people, nor have I *willingly* given them offence. I do not *wish* to make *any pretense* to being immaculate. Notwithstanding your faltering opinion (and you give me much greater credit than I deserve) I *have faults—very many* of them, that I am neither talented, nor educated, that I am doubtless haughty, possibly overbearing—poor, with no position nor anything upon which to found any claim to one, all this I concede. *But* that I ever so far forgot myself, or the respect and obedience due a dear father and mother who(m) I love more than life, so far as to commit any action unbecoming a man, or that there *exists* the *possibility* of my wronging the confidence of those who *love* and *trust* me, is *false*. My duty to that father and mother broken in health and spirits, fast tottering to the grave, to an only brother just approaching manhood, to whom I owe at least a good example, to my own honor—to you, and Carrie, who have given me your friendship and affection, with a generosity worthy of a return far—far greater than I can *ever hope* to render, forbids it.

Truly and affectionately yours,

ELMER.

P. S. Present my respects to Mr. Spafford.

(Ellsworth to Carrie Spafford).

Chicago, March 11, 1860.

My Own Darling Kitty:

Now for a good long letter. It's twelve o'clock. Everybody has gone from the armory. Chicago's abed. And having no fear of inter(uption) except from some mid-night prowler or ghostly visitant, neither of which I expect, I give myself up to the pleasure of communing with my darling. Do you remember when I tried to write on the dining room table and you lent me your valuable assistance? What work I made of it. I can fancy you now sitting in this chair just by my side with your dear little arm just resting on my shoulder and "me arm around yer waist"—this scrap of poetry is from the sentimental ballad of "The low backed car," which having been hummed, whistled and drummed in my presence for the last week has become quite familiar to me. Talking about ballads, I never heard "Annie Laurie" *sung* until this last week. We were ordered to hold ourselves in readiness to quell a riot which was expected to occur on election day. We had been under arms all night, and during the day, until about 5 o'clock in the afternoon; and thinking the day would pass off without any serious disturbance, were singing and carrying on as gay as larks—when a prominent citizen in whom I had the greatest confidence came in and told us to be in instant readiness to go to the tenth ward, as there were over ten thousand Irishmen there, all under the influence of the greatest excitement—swearing that if the polls were closed at 6 o'clock they would destroy the ballot boxes—that the polls *would* be closed at 6 o'clock and that the danger was so imminent that even then there was half a dozen of the most influential men at the mayor's office insisting on his calling us out. The company formed at once, and I placed themselves in line at the door ready to spring into the omnibusses (we had 5 with 4 horses each), waiting at the lower entrance. I knew that there was imminent danger of a riot and that it was my duty to prepare for all emergencies. Accordingly I caused the men to load their pieces with ball cartridges; as those struck the bottom of the musket bore, the boys seemed for the first time to awake to the fearful responsibility of our positions if we went out—that if called upon to quell the riot, it could be done but in one way, and that involved a necessity that no one ought to contemplate without solemnity of feeling. The hour of the expected disturbance was near at hand, and that no time might be lost, I brought the men to attention and commenced to march them slowly about the room, when they started with one accord—they commenced "Annie Laurie," and, shaded in its expression by the sober feeling at that moment pervading the company, I never heard anything sound so inexpressibly sweet.

At 8 o'clock word came that everything had quieted down and so ended our "tour of duty" without giving any of us a chance to distinguish ourselves (or rather be distinguished for a week or so afterward by a black eye or bruised head) by extinguishing a "wow, a wampus or a wiot." As Goodhue would say, "sich is life."

John Cook has written me a letter in which he speaks of Mr. Lincoln, etc., as follows:

"You ask me if I have seen our friend Lincoln. I answer, yes, repeatedly, and never without the conversation turning upon you and his expressing an earnest desire that you should make this place your home and his office your headquarters. He has taken in you a greater interest than I ever knew him to manifest in any one before. My conviction that this is the place for you to commence life as a public man is unchanged."

Now, little one, what is your majesty's sage opinion? There is every prospect of a disturbance in Mexico. Still there is no method of forming any opinion as to the probable termination of it.

Your father has commenced the commission business with Mr. Ellis & Stewart, both of Rockford. Their store is not very far from the North Western depot, where the Rockford trains come in.

I called to see Josie last Friday, but she was sick from an attack of her disease and unable to see any one, poor girl. For heaven's sake, Carrie, preserve your health. Spring is now at hand and you stand in constant danger of contracting serious colds in two ways, first, by sitting at an open window when the air is damp, and by going out without sufficient protection for the feet. For my sake, darling, will you take good care of yourself. I am now suffering from a cold which I cannot rid myself of. Do you take exercise? and are you keeping your promise about the early hours?

Frank Leslie has sent for our pictures to publish them in his illustrated paper. You may see them in next Tuesday's paper if they reached New York in time for use. Have you heard anything of Man Brown lately?

My darling, how do you progress in your studies? Please tell me if you are satisfied that you are doing as well at Lebannon as you could elsewhere—in short, if the influences are good. I want a list of all your school mates and their residences. Are you acquiring a lasting understanding of your studies and laying the basis for a thorough education, or falling insensibly under the routine of boarding school existence? Ask yourself these questions, give them thought, and then, darling mine, answer them.

Now, Kitty darling, I lay down my pen (being unable to write any more) with the sublime consciousness of having at least written a long letter, if not an entertaining one.

Write soon darling, and accept a thousand kisses from

YOUR OWN ELMER.

Extract from Ellsworth's letter to Carrie Spafford, telling of the challenge the Chicago Cadets issued to other military companies for competitive drill. The letter bears the date of October 9, 1859:

Next Wednesday, the Cadets go to Fon-du-lac, Wisconsin, to attend the celebration of the opening of the North Western R. R. The trip will occupy nearly three day. The company (of Cadets) have challenged any company in the U. S. or Canada to drill with them for the "Champion Colors," which they won at the U. S. Fair. It is a great task for me to remain in charge of them, but *policy* bids me do

so. My connection with them so far has *benefited me beyond my most sanguine expectations.* I expect my brother to arrive here next week; and I shall henceforth have the responsibility of his conduct added to my other cares. I assume it willingly, as I hope to be able to make a man of him, if a long residence and association in a country village has not spoiled him. I have the promise, for him, of a situation in a large hardware establishment here."

The scrap below was probably written by Ellsworth to his fiancée, Miss Carrie Spafford, whom in his letters he sometimes addresses as "Kitty." It contains the spirit of optimism seen in his letter to his parents written from Springfield (Ill.) December 7, 1860, and in his diary, which is now in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Library.

"Be happy. Do not brood over misfortune which you cannot remedy. Thank God for his goodness; be grateful for what you do enjoy. *Never despond.* Remember Equitat qui tuetur. No obstacle so great but it can be surmounted. Forward."

THE INFLUENCE OF TENNESSEEANS IN THE FORMATION OF ILLINOIS.

Edward Bryant Landis, M. A., Ph. D.

Much of the progress of the early history of Illinois may be traced directly to the Influence of Tennesseeans. It has been estimated that in the migration period at least 30,000 came from Tennessee into Illinois. True these people shared with those coming from New England and the East, as well as from all the Southland, as far as Virginia.

There were three migrations from Tennessee into Illinois, extending through the first half of the nineteenth century.

The first was from about 1800 to 1825. This migration was animated largely by the commercial idea of cheap land, a fertile country, an opportunity for a home. This is a most worthy incentive for much of the cleared land in the older sections was already taken by others. This movement was not because of the slavery question—except in a minor way, for slaves were held by some in Illinois from 1725 to 1824 or 1825—a period of one hundred years. It is to the credit of the people, however, that in 1824, when their first vote upon the subject was taken, the soil of this great state was to be known as Free-soil.

Immediately a second migration from Tennessee began, which was animated by a desire to be out of the slave territory. A great many Tennesseeans were opposed to slavery and wanted their children brought up on Free-Soil territory, so they packed up their belongings and set across the long intervening territory without roads much of the way—hoping to reach the new country with its higher ideals. Great honor is due those sturdy pioneers who hewed out a path through the trackless forest and across broad prairies, crossing streams on crudely constructed rafts, undergoing all manners of privations and hardships for the sake of an ideal.

The third migration was after the close of the Civil War. Times were hard in Tennessee at that time and families, for their own sake, and for the sake of the young people, moved to Illinois, and other western states.

The influence of these Tennesseeans has been variously estimated. Many of these pioneers were known to be splendid marksmen with the rifle. The wild game was plentiful, it would be far greater sport to seek big game than to make a clearing in the timber. But a closer reading indicates that they were as ready for the weightier matters as any people. They were ready to bear their share of the hardships, perform their tasks in the community, and do whatever, they were called upon to do. The very fact of these pioneers severing

home-ties in an established community for the new frontier gives evidence of powers of leadership, with great determination. Many of these people were of the Scotch-Irish blood and order. Your society records have already noted many of the deeds of valor of this great race. We must claim, however, that their tarrying for a time in Tennessee did not lessen their ardor nor quell their enthusiastic determinations to push on to success in this great, new country of Liberty and Freedom.

In Fordham's classification of Pioneers from Tennessee he says that "enterprising men came from Kentucky, and in fact all the Atlantic States—included in this number are doctors, attorneys, storekeepers, farmers, mechanics, etc. They founded the towns, organized trade, speculated in land, inducing a continual improvement of farm lands. They actually formed the fabric of society." There were land offices in Shawneetown, Kaskaskia, Edwardsville, and other towns early, to aid the immigrants in settling.

Shortly after the first great numbers arrived and settlements sprang up over different sections, new counties were formed and in the leadership of these counties many officers were chosen from the Tennesseeans. Records here are incomplete but in St. Clair, Randolph, Massac, Pope, Hardin, Gallatin, Monroe, Perry, Franklin, Washington, Jefferson, Morgan, Schuyler,—later in Brown and Cass, Sangamon, Madison, Greene, Bond, Macoupin, Clinton, Marion, Knox, Menard, et al—Counties these facts seem to be borne out.

In the first Constitutional Convention there were a number of these men so it early became evident that many of these men filled positions of honor and trust in offices throughout the State.

The first bank was organized at Shawneetown, the second followed closely afterwards at Edwardsville. Some of the County Historians made the suggestion that the first coal mined in Southern Illinois was by some of the Tennesseeans who had known of the mining industry back home. Suffice it to say that the men from Tennessee were among the leaders in establishing Commerce in their new country, whether it be farming, banking or fruit-growing.

There is one other phase usually overlooked by historians which can be mentioned in this paper. The wives of some of these prominent men were women of distinguished families, bringing to their new homes a culture, poise and charm of an "elect lady." She may have had to undergo more privations in the new country but her influence was ever felt for good and upright conduct. Respect for law, early establishment of church and schools all testify of a wholesome influence exerted by some. In this connection mention should be made of the wife of the first Governor, Shadrach Bond, who was Miss Achsah Bond of Nashville, Tennessee, where they were married on November 27, 1810.

The record gives special mention of his distinguished service during the War of 1812, and of his appointment as receiver of public money in the territory of Illinois in 1814, when he removed to Kaskaskia to take charge of his office.

Brief references are made of their home, a center of social as well as political life for a number of years, as his death occurred in 1832.

If a fair record could be found of this early pioneer life much more credit would be given to the influence of this superb womanhood in maintaining the standards of civilization. The social events were almost wholly enjoyed in the homes. Many of the churches were organized in the homes of these Lydias of modern times.

Another example is in the case of John A. Logan. His father, Dr. John Logan, was born in Ireland, emigrated to this country in 1823, and married Elizabeth Jenkins, a member of a prominent family which migrated to Illinois about 1820. The prominence of Mrs. Logan's family may be estimated when you recall that her son entered the law office of his uncle to study law; he also aided in the publication of one of the early papers in Jackson County which was owned by her family—doing this in addition to his work in the Law Office.

Another of this Jenkins family, early (1858)—Ezra Jenkins, became the Superintendent of Public Instruction. It is in keeping with the above suggestion that much of the leadership of John A. Logan can be traced to his mother and her family—all of whom came from Tennessee at that early date. The influence is still felt throughout Jackson County and that section of the State.

The influence of the women is also seen in the urgent call for schools. While there were very few schools of any consequence, when a young man was able to go away from home, the choice was frequently made in favor of some Tennessee school. This fact aided them to make an early start for schools closer home.

SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES.

As intimated in the last paragraph there arose in the minds of many people who had found their home in this new country the most outstanding need for schools, and second to it the organization of churches. The churches were organized even first in point of time, but the educational call seemed uppermost, notwithstanding much sport is made of the likes of hunting and fishing. Be it ever to the credit of these early pioneers to have it said they laid the foundations even better than they knew at that time. Thus we turn to find there sprang up many schools some of which have continued to serve an eminent need to this present good day. Some, naturally, have given place to the cry of a larger need and the development of our public school system in putting so many high schools in our State. In these institutions we notice two distinct influences, that of many of the teachers coming from the Eastern States of New York, New Jersey, or New England, while most of the children came from the families of the South. This combination worked out a happy result. Many of these schools were no more than academies, and for the most part were connected with some religious organization, though they were made possible through the efforts of local people rallying to the opportunities. Mention is made of a few of the schools only.

Shurtleff—Organized 1827, chartered in 1835, under the Baptists. Upper Alton.

McKendree—Organized 1828, chartered in 1835, under the Methodists. This school was named first Lebanon College; name changed in 1830 because of the large gift from Bishop McKendree.

Illinois College, Jacksonville—Organized 1828, chartered in 1835, under the Presbyterians. This institution claims to have been the first organized, though dates do not all agree.

Jacksonville Female Academy, Jacksonville—Organized in 1828 by Mrs. J. M. Ellis, wife of Rev. J. M. Ellis, the first pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Jacksonville. This was the first educational institution chartered in the State, but the same year Illinois McKendree and Shurtleff received their charters, 1835. This academy had a splendid history and was incorporated into Illinois College in 1902.

Monticello Seminary, Godfrey—Was organized 1836 by a Presbyterian layman of Alton, Captain Benjamin Godfrey, who later moved to Godfrey. The founder put into this institution about $53,000. He wanted it non-sectarian.

Blackburn University, Carlinville, 1835, Presbyterian—The Rev. Dr. Gideon Blackburn was ordained to the Presbyterian ministry in East Tennessee, Maryville. After serving that church he moved to Hopkinsville, Kentucky, where he was pastor of the First Presbyterian Church for about four years. When he came to Illinois he devised a far-reaching plan for the education of the youth by purchasing some 16,000 acres of land as the beginning of the endowment.

Knox College—Galesburg, 1837, Presbyterian, Congregational, Independent.

Rock River Seminary — Mt. Morris, Ogle County, 1837. Methodist.

Illinois Woman's College—Jacksonville, 1847. Methodist.

DuQuoin Female Seminary—DuQuoin, 1855.

Monmouth College—Monmouth, 1858. United Presbyterians.

Sparta Seminary—Randolph County.

Vergennes—Perry County.

Jonesboro—Union County.

Salem—Marion County.

Ewing—Franklin County.

Southern Illinois Academy—Enfield, 1873. The school prospered for about twenty-five years.

The most of these schools and academies located in Southern Illinois have been sold or transferred to high schools in their respective towns. This list of schools may not really have a place in this paper, only it should be said in justice to our pioneers that an honest effort was made throughout the entire State to meet the demands upon their ever-growing communities and their State. You see the majority of the schools were originally located in that section of the State where these Tennessee settlers made their homes. Many things contributed to the conditions which caused the abandonment of the original purpose.

Friendsville, Wabash County, had an academy at a very early day, but the writer was unable to get definite data concerning this school.

RELIGION.

The expansion was not only in the matter of making new settlements, but along with this went a steady growth in all the life of a pioneer people. Churches were organized everywhere. Houses of worship were not always built where congregations were organized, but services were held more or less regularly. Shawneetown, one of the oldest towns on the east side of the State, was very early visited by missionaries and traveling preachers. Travelers from Kentucky or Tennessee crossed the Ohio, either at Golconda or Shawneetown, as the only ferries were at these two points.

Many of the dates of the actual organization are lost sight of, but it is generally believed that the Baptists preceded all other of the evangelical churches by a few years, as some of their missionaries came as early as 1795; the date of their organization being something like ten years to fifteen later. The Methodists were a close second, organizing about 1810-1812. The Presbyterians left a more definite record as to their movements, coming as missionaries about 1797 and keeping up their missionary efforts until 1816-1818. The first organization occurred in Sharon (Enfield), White County, September, 1816; Shoal Creek, March 10, 1819; Edwardsville, March 17, 1819; Golconda, October 24, 1819.

The Cumberland Presbyterian Church, then in its infancy, having been formed in Tennessee in 1810, sent its missionaries into this territory along with the settlers. Their first preacher appeared in 1815, their first church was organized about five miles from Enfield in June, 1819; their second church, near Greenville in 1819.

BAPTISTS.

The Baptists were quite active in Randolph, St. Clair, Perry and Monroe Counties. The first Baptist Church was organized in New Design, Monroe County, February 29, 1795, with twenty-eight members, scattered throughout Monroe and Randolph Counties. This was the first Protestant Church in Illinois. The divisions of the Baptist Church were emphasized, such as the primitive, regular, separate, and "hard-shells." To us, we will not attempt to make any distinction. In all of these churches these Tennessee people found their religious homes.

Perry County—Enoch Eaton, born in Tennessee, organized the "Nine Mile Prairie Church," which was known as the mother of the churches. John S. Haggard, Matthew Jones, Thomas Jones, Samuel P. Groves, all Tennesseeans, were among the charter members of this church. Rev. P. W. Jones and J. C. Harris were prominent workers. John, William C., Richard G. and William K. Murphy came from Smith County, Tennessee, and early connected themselves with this church.

Among the prominent Baptists in Randolph County were John Montgomery, John Doyle, David Pagon, Joseph Anderson, John Dodge, Levi Teel, James Curry, Minard Asturgus.

METHODISTS.

As early as 1817, Zadoc Casey emigrated from Sumner County, Tennessee, and settled on a farm near the present site of Mt. Vernon, Jefferson County. He founded the town of Mt. Vernon in 1818 or 1819. He was a local preacher in that section for over forty years and a man of widespread influence. A little later (1836) James E. Ferguson came from the same county in Tennessee, settled at Mt. Vernon, became very prosperous, and was called the "father of the Methodist Church." In 1818 the Jesse Maxey family settled in Mt. Vernon. This family later became one of the most influential in the Southern Illinois Conference. Noah Bullock was connected with another illustrious family from Tennessee, that of Governor Casey.

St. Clair County was also a center of activities of this church, and it was here that their first school was planned, the founding of Lebanon College occurring in 1828, which was changed to McKendree College in 1830 in honor of Bishop McKendree, who had given the school the largest gift up to that time.

THE PRESBYTERIANS (INCLUDING THE CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIANS).

Since the Cumberland Presbyterian Church was founded in Tennessee, and ever was a part of the Presbyterian group of churches, and reunited with the mother church in the year 1903-1904, it is in keeping with this paper to mention some of their early pioneer ministers, most of whom came from Tennessee.

Rev. D. W. McLin—Organized many churches in White County; McLeansboro, Shawneetown, Union, Fairfield, Thom's Prairie and Equality, in Gallatin County.

Rev. J. M. Berry—Settled in Sangamon County; preached also in Logan County.

Rev. Abner Wayne Lansden—Came from Wilson County, Tennessee, to Sangamon County, Illinois, where he lived for thirty years. His wife was Mary M. Gallaher, sister of three ministers in the Presbyterian Church. His son, John M. Lansden, became a student in Illinois College, thence to Tennessee to study law, and settled in Cairo, Illinois, where he became one of the real leaders in every way of the city, writing one of the best histories of that city. He became a distinguished attorney, a capable jurist, taking rank as one of the leading men at the bar in Illinois.

Rev. Samuel McAdow—One of the founders of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church in Dixon County, Tennessee, came to Illinois later and served in Vandalia Presbytery. He lived to the ripe old age of 88 and was buried at the Mt. Gilead Church in Bond County, near Greenville, Illinois.

Rev. James Ashmore was born in Jefferson County, Tennessee. He was the organizer of many churches in Clark, Cumberland and Coles Counties, Illinois. His son, Rev. H. H. Ashmore, became an army chaplain and served with distinction in the Civil War.

Rev. David Foster—Came from Sumner County, Tennessee, to Sangamon, thence to Macon County, Illinois. He organized Mt. Zion and Bethany congregations. He was very active in Central Illinois.

Rev. Woods McCowan Hamilton was active in Southern Illinois.

Rev. J. R. Lowrance—Born in Tennessee, in Murray County. He came to Illinois in 1835. Settled near Manchester. His ministry was from Petersburg to Jerseyville.

Rev. Cyrus Haynes—Reared in Giles County, Tennessee; student in Cumberland College, 1830-1833; ordained by Elk Presbytery. Came to Morgan County, Illinois, 1836; served in Sangamon Presbytery, then in McDonough County; organized a school in McLean County, Stout's Grove, 1847.

Rev. James McDowell—Born in North Carolina; removed to Robertson County, Tennessee. September, 1830, he came to Tazewell County, Illinois, where he labored constantly for the building of the church.

The Presbyterian Church was growing side by side with the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. The most of the ministry, however, came from another section of the country. There are two notable exceptions. The Rev. Dr. Gideon Blackburn was licensed to preach in Maryville, Tenn., 1792. After a brief ministry he became the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Hopkinsville, Kentucky. He came into Illinois and at once began planning the organization of a school. He was one of the most far-sighted men of his day, and had the trustees for this new school followed his general outline, there seems to be little doubt but that Blackburn University would have been one of the richest endowed in the entire West.

From East Tennessee came another young man, destined to be a leader in the church—Rev. Dr. R. W. Patterson—whose life will be mentioned more in detail later. We might say he was one of the most varied students of the West.

The ministry of the Presbyterian Church in Illinois has ever numbered some outstanding leaders from Tennessee. One church sent men who became pastors in Hyde Park, and Highland Park, Chicago, Oak Park and Monmouth, all at one time. At the present time there are more than a score who were reared and trained in Tennessee schools, some of them in the real centers of influence.

SETTLEMENTS.

Rumors filtered back as settlements took form until a sufficient number in certain areas warranted the organization of another county. A few glimpses of how these counties grew will be sufficient.

St. Clair and Randolph.

The past century had witnessed only minor changes. Immigration had reached the Illinois country from three sources—the north, the

south, and the east. Each of the three quarters brought its own peculiar people. The fame of its rich soil, its noble rivers, its abundance of wild game, was spread abroad by every traveler who chanced to traverse its boundless prairies or to thread its silvery streams. The first county was St. Clair, which was divided in 1795 by a line running due east and west through New Design. The north half was called St. Clair County, with Cahokia for the county seat; while the south half was called Randolph County, with Kaskaskia as its county seat. For our purposes not much distinction was made of the county line. We find, for instance, that a respectable family by the name of Casey emigrated from Tennessee to Illinois and settled in several of the counties in the interior of the State. No dates being given, no specific places mentioned, makes a tabulation now very difficult. We surmise this particular family to be a part that later influenced the settlement in Jefferson County, but is given here by way of illustration of much indefiniteness pertaining to this early history.

George E. Walker, a respectable and worthy pioneer, was born in Tennessee. His father and family in 1811 settled in Randolph County, east of the Kaskaskia River. He was one of the men who built a railroad from the Mississippi Bluff to the river. This road was constructed in 1837 for the purpose of conveying coal to the St. Louis markets and was the first railroad in the State.

James Milligan, born in Tennessee in 1801, came to Illinois in 1812. Sons: Fergus, James, David, Hezekiah, William. Daughters: Elvira, Sarah, Mary, Martha.

Fergus Milligan, Randolph and Perry Counties. Abner, John, Milton, Thomas, William, Joseph.

David Milligan came with his family in 1812.

W. E. Gladson, Louis Hammock, E. B. Rushing, J. W. Pyatt, Perry County.

Daniel Ballinger and family, William Fisher, Bond and Garretson families, Captain James Moore, John Moore and family.

John G. Fellers, W. B. Taylor, Robert Bratney, John Layne, Daniel Malone, P. P. Hamilton, a local M. E. preacher; Lawson Murphy, W. P. Murphy, J. M. Malone, Edward Campbell, J. P. Mathes, James G. Wylie, C. W. Edgar, Samuel T. Nisbit, I. J. Sanders, James F. Blair, Rev. M. H. Woods, Rev. Samuel Brown, Rev. Samuel Caruthers, Alexander Porter, John Reynolds, Samuel C. Baldridge. All of these were near Sparta from 1810 to 1850; also John Bell, who formed a new party in politics.

Perry County.

Rev. Alexander Rice, son of Abner Rice, from Robertson County, Tennessee. Three or four of these families came to Illinois in 1830 and settled in Perry County. They were among the early leaders in the Baptist Church.

Others: Matthew Jones, William Jones, John Hazzard, John Berry, John Bland, John M. Haggard, Johnson Harriss, Reuben Kelley, John and Isaac McCollum, Isaac and Abraham Lee, Edward, Robert and Minyard Gilliam, Henry and John Bridges, William Dial, George Sturtevant, Samuel Etherton, Thomas Morris, Samuel Dixon, William

Williams, Abner Keith, Joe Little, Richard Hull, Thomas Metcalf, John Stuart, A. A. Watkins, Samuel Ewing, Rev. James Walker and Rev. Mr. Barr, preachers.

Jefferson County.

Stinson H. Anderson, born in Sumner County, Tennessee, 1800, removed while young to Jefferson County, Illinois. Representative in the General Assembly, 1838 to 1842; was Speaker of the Senate of Illinois, 1841; warden of State Penitentiary; United States Marshal for Illinois.

Dr. John J. Fyke, son of J. A. Fyke, of Robertson County, Tennessee. The father helped build a railroad in Vicksburg, Mississippi, over which one of the first trains in the United States ran. He came to Illinois in 1839. As a carpenter he was very busy, settling on what was known as Tennessee Prairie. Dr. Fyke, the son, went to McKendree College, Chicago Medical School, St. Louis Eclectic College of Medicine. He established a very lucrative practice. His wife also was of a Tennessee family.

Benjamin Smith, son of Anderson Smith, born in Hickman County, Tennessee, 1814. He came to Illinois, 1830; married, in 1832, Elizabeth C. Hopper, who was born in Tennessee in 1811. He became a successful fruit grower and leading agriculturist. He was the president of Jefferson County organization of the People's party, also a member of the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Organization.

Otis M. Waters, son of H. T. Waters. A successful druggist.

William M. Casey, a farmer, well to do.

Leander C. Johnson, son of Rev. John T. and Rachel Prather Johnson.

Robert F. Smith, son of Robert and Martha Smith. In 1861 he volunteered and joined Company G, Second East Tennessee Union Army. Mustered out in 1865. Came to Illinois, 1868; married Margaret Allen of Tennessee.

Tillman Davis Fry came to Illinois, 1851; Hamilton and Jefferson Counties.

Christopher G. Vaughn, son of John D. and Celia Wood Vaughn. Came to Jefferson County, 1832.

James Waters, born in 1815, came to Illinois, 1839; married, 1841.

William P. Hudson, son of John and Mary (Duncan) Hudson, became a prosperous farmer in Jefferson County.

Campbell W. Ragan came from Blount County, Tennessee, 1853. Married, 1856, Elizabeth Maxey, of Tennessee. He grew very wealthy.

Jasper Braddy, son of Jesse and Lovissa (Parker) Braddy.

William Davis, son of C. S. Davis, a local politician.

Herbert S. Smith, son of Jesse H. and Eliza (Bliss) Smith. The father's family was of Tennessee, moving to Illinois in 1830.

Washington County.

In this county many Tennessee families settled.

Stephen Canady came from Tennessee when very young; exact date not given.

James T. Goodner, son of Elijah and Mary (Gore) Goodner. Married Margaret Ann Logan, of Tennessee family.

Captain John A. Logan, son of James and Lorinda (Dyke) Logan. John was born in Tennessee, January 14, 1841; came to Illinois, 1850.

John F. Stephens, son of David and Lorana (Duncan) Stephens. John was born in East Tennessee, 1823; came to Illinois, 1849.

Sylvester C. Garrison, son of David A. Garrison, came from Tennessee with his parents when he was but four years of age.

John B. Hester, son of Benjamin R. and Margaret (Henry) Hester, an old Tennessee family. The father of John founded the M. E. Church, South, in Ashley, Illinois, 1866.

John Newman, born near Knoxville, Tennessee, May 13, 1827. Married Hester Ann House, of Tennessee, 1848; emigrated to Illinois for a honeymoon trip. They were ardent supporters of the M. E. Church, South.

Marion, Franklin and Hamilton Counties.

William Finley, M. D., son of Rev. William and Elizabeth (Hutchings) Finley. The parents came to Bond County in 1819, the father being a minister of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. He organized the Salem Church, 1844; thence Bethel, Kinmundy, Omega and others. The subject of this sketch was born in 1829 and was ordained to preach at the age of 24, but soon turned his attention to medicine, studying in Cincinnati. He settled in Salem, always ready to boost that progressive little city. His practice grew, he became an influential citizen, churchman, member of a number of fraternal orders, an advocate of good schools. It was partly through the efforts of this family that at an early day a special school or academy was organized at Salem, but later was turned into the public school system.

Thomas R. Marshall, cashier of Salem National Bank, was the son of Benjamin Franklin Marshall, from Lincoln County, Tennessee, who came to Illinois in 1838, settling in Salem. This family was one of the progressive families in that section, always ready to boost the community, the schools, lodges, church or business.

Captain James Creed came to Illinois from Rutherford County, Tennessee in 1844. Married, in 1848, Stacy R. Randolph. Served in Civil War as captain of Company K, Seventy-first Regiment, Illinois. In 1865 moved to Walnut Hill and became an extensive fruit grower. He was one of the founders in that section of the Farmers' Grange, also Farmers' Club, a co-operative society.

John M. Rutherford, son of Houston L. and Mary (Milterbarger)) Rutherford. He was born in Knox County, Tennessee, July, 1850. When the lad was only a few weeks old the parents set out for Illinois, locating in Shiloh Township. He married, 1869, Elizabeth Rightowner. He was an ardent member of the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association.

Gabriel Pearler, a brick mason, reached Illinois from Tennessee in 1850.

Rev. Jesse Porter Sprowls, D. D., moved to Salem from Nashville, Tennessee, where he had had a nervous breakdown. He soon became

a leader in the Cumberland Presbyterian Church and other religious activities.

Samuel F. Phillips, son of Jonathan and Sarah (Fowler) Phillips, came into Illinois from Tennessee, 1831, locating in Marion County.

John Rust, born in Maury County, Tennessee, 1816, came to Illinois, 1829. This man helped establish the tradition that the Southerner did not work much, for he believed in hunting coons for a living. As a result he established a small business in trading in hides and furs.

A number of other families came into that immediate section from Tennessee.

In Madison, Macoupin and Greene Counties there was a large settlement of people from the South, but I have been unable to classify them as I should like to do. The same is true with Morgan County, where at an early date you find leaders in every good movement.

The same thing might be said of McLean County, for it is known to all who have lived in that great county that many people from the South constitute parts of their families. As early as 1826 people began to take claims in that section. For the most part they settled in the west portion of the county. One of the pioneer preachers organized in 1827 the church that is now Danvers Presbyterian Church. Some of these families belong to that section still.

In this same connection I should write some unclassified material from Coles and Cumberland Counties, as there are a few large families in that section that have their reunions and keep up a line of family history that is commendable. I speak of the Dryden family, from Bedford County, Tennessee. They married into the Morrison family. Mrs. Eliza Morrison lived to be nearly 100 years of age, and her great delight in her last years was to tell her experiences on that long trip, riding most of the way horseback, taking her babe in her lap, her next older child up behind—just to lighten the load of the moving wagon. It is a matter of interest in that family to record that as soon as they got located on Long Point Prairie, now in Cumberland County, near Neoga, they invited the people to come to their log house and set about to organize the Presbyterian Church. In that same neighborhood was another family, that of Ewing, who shared with these other good people the building of a civilization worth while. In later years they took pride in pointing to their early beginnings, and at the same time furnished their children with some of the most progressive plans, such as a complete modern church and school building in splendid proportions.

Schuyler, Brown and Cass Counties.

The history of Schuyler County is like that of many others, as it was subdivided as the population seemed to demand it, or if the division could serve for some coveted political end in establishing separate units for such purposes.

Henry Ventres, son of Asa Ventres, who came to St. Clair County and died in 1818. Record is not clear as to when the family moved to the other section of the State.

Dr. D. W. Owens of Hersman married Nanna Means Boggs, daughter of Joseph and Rachel Means Boggs. Both of these families

were from Tennessee. Doctor Owens enjoyed the friendship of the Marshall family, and that of Abraham Lincoln. He was an exception in that section as he affiliated with the Republican party, while most of the settlers were Democrats. He was a minister as well as physician, and became one of the most serviceable men in that entire section of the country just after the war.

Hon. W. C. Reno, son of Jonathan and Louisa Thorton Reno, Kentucky-Tennessee respectively.

King Kerley, son of William Kerley, born in Sumner County, Tennessee, 1814. Mr. Kerley married Elizabeth Brown of Sumner County, 1837, soon afterwards moved to Illinois with their respective families, settling in what became Brown County.

Jeptha Plaster, Chandlerville, Cass County, was born in Robertson County, Tennessee, 1827. His father came to Illinois alone in 1828 to locate land. This he did and returned to his family and parents. All of them came immediately thereafter. The grandfather settled in Morgan County, where others of the family afterwards came. Jeptha married Elizabeth Johnson October 14, 1858. She was the daughter of John and Rosanna (Adkins) Johnson, both families of Tennessee, which had settled in Morgan County. Jeptha was elected Associate Justice in the year of 1869, in which office he discharged his duties in a worthy and competent manner.

John M. Daniels, of Ashland, son of J. W. Daniels of Jacksonville. This is one of the Tennessee families which has improved the larger opportunity afforded for education and other cultural influences and the children of most of the parts of the family can now be found in positions of honor and merit through thrift and perseverance.

Joseph F. Black was born in Maury County, Tennessee, February 23, 1828. He married Miss Beard, of another prominent Tennessee family. They came to Illinois almost the entire distance on the rivers, starting their long journey on the Cumberland at Nashville, thence on the Ohio, thence on the Mississippi, thence on the Illinois, landing just west of Winchester. There they located for a short time, then moved to Virginia.

R. W. Mills, son of Chesley L. Mills, was born near Lebanon, Tennessee. Chesley married into a Vermont family that had moved to Kentucky, the family of Doctor Cadwell, which afterward located in Morgan County at Lynnville.

Charles J. Norbury was born in Philadelphia, May 22, 1812, but he married the daughter of Rev. Thomas Spence, Miss Elizabeth Spence, thus combining a splendid family from the East with one from the South, which was done so often in that section of Illinois, forming some of the very best families in that entire section of the country.

Lewis H. Orr, Mt. Sterling, son of David W. of Sumner County, Tennessee.

Payton Harding is of a Kentucky-Tennessee family settling in Brown County.

The Perry family came to Brown County in 1830-1831, and from that time to the present not many times can be found when some

representative was not filling some important county or state office by vote of the people. More will be said about them elsewhere.

Hon. H. A. Perry was County Court Clerk for sixteen years and was followed by William Perry. Hon. Elmer A. Perry was County Attorney and a member of the State Legislature, and is one of the leading lawyers of Springfield.

John Murphy came out of eastern Tennessee, settling at Camden at an early day.

Tennesseeans in Wayne County.

Rev. Benjamin Mabry came to Illinois from Tennessee in 1819 and Simpson Organ came shortly afterwards. Rev. Mabry was also a millwright. He built a number of old style grist mills in this part of Illinois. He was active as a pioneer preacher in Wayne and adjoining counties. Several of his descendants became prominent in Illinois. The Hon. John L. Cooper, now editor of the Wayne County Record, is his great-grandson. Mr. Cooper has held many important positions, viz: twice Representative in the Illinois Legislature; Judge of the County Court of Wayne; secretary for Judge C. C. Boggs of the Supreme Court of Illinois for nine years. Hon. Robert E. Mabry, a grandson of Benjamin Mabry, became Representative in the Illinois Legislature, State Insurance Examiner, and Chief Clerk of the Southern Illinois Penitentiary.

Hon. Ben S. Organ, a grandson of Benjamin Mabry, served as Representative in the Illinois Legislature, and as County Judge in two counties—White and Wabash, in Illinois, and as County Treasurer of Wayne County.

Judge John L. Cooper and Hon. Ben. S. Organ were grandsons of both Benjamin Mabry and Austin Organ.

Austin Organ, Jr., a son of the pioneer Austin Organ, became Sheriff of Wayne County and Captain of a Company in the Fifth Regiment of the U. S. Cavalry in the War of 1861-1865.

Richard L. Organ, grandson of Austin Organ, Sr., became an attorney in Carmi and his son, Joseph Organ, is prominent in Carmi as a business man, and in the management of the White County Agricultural Society.

Early Settlers From Tennessee in White County.

The Gowdys, Orrs, Millers, Fields, Johnsons, Trousdales and Andersons all settled near Enfield and came from Tennessee in 1818, and were prominent and influential people.

Hosea Pearce, who was one of the early sheriffs of White County, came to Wayne County in 1817.

The Austins, Weeses, DeLaps, Emersons, and a great many of the early settlers of the west and southwest part of White County came from Tennessee. One large bend of the Little Wabash River in this vicinity is still called the Tennessee Bend because so many of the early settlers came from that State.

(This information was furnished by the late Judge C. C. Boggs.)

Bond County.

Bond County was one of the earliest settlements, but records were not available for the present writer, so some material had to be left out which quite evidently should be included, all of which shows the impossibility of collecting all data for such a paper as this. But as early as 1817-1818 Hickory Grove was settled, which afterwards changed its name to Pocahontas. In this community were many families from Tennessee, including the Plants, Hunters, Johnsons, Mills, Volentine, McCords, McCleans.

Morgan County.

It is frequently said that Morgan County in an early day exerted some of the most potential influences upon the State of any section of the State. This may be accounted in that the people who settled the Town of Jacksonville, and the County of Morgan were composed of two general types of people, those from the South who wanted to get out of Slave territory, and those from New England who wanted to get into the great west where land was cheaper and opportunities were abundant. These people brought with them many trained leaders, men and women who had received excellent school advantages. This very fact aided them in making large and generous plans for their own families. This helped to explain how they rapidly developed so many institutions of learning, colleges, academies, conservatories, and out of this enterprising town went a splendid influence. This influence continues to this day as Jacksonville is one of the best educational centers in the entire West.

Rev. Hugh Barr—Hugh Barr was born in North Carolina, the son of Patrick and Nancy Barr, and when a mere child came to Tennessee, where he received his education and training under Doctor Blackburn, Dr. John Allen, and possibly Doctor Doak. Rev. Hugh Barr was ordained by the Presbytery of Shiloh at Hopewell, Tennessee, 1819. He was sent on a Missionary tour of Alabama, where he had slaves as his servants but became convinced that this was not right so he freed his slaves and came to Illinois in 1835. His first ministry may have been at Carrollton, but he soon became a minister in Morgan County, preaching for a long time at Pisgah, near Orleans, and at other places throughout that territory. He was associated with some of the earliest formations of Presbyteries and Synods in Illinois. His grandson, S. O. Barr, is in business at Jacksonville.

Gallaher—This name introduces one of the most influential families in the early days of Morgan County, and it might be said to continue its place of leadership until the present. Thomas Gallaher settled in Washington County, Tennessee, where a large family of ten children were reared. Three of the sons became ministers, one of them becoming a prominent pastor in the Presbyterian Church of Cincinnati, another one of the boys going to help the brother as co-pastor, married in that city and later came to join others of the family who had come to Illinois. The children married into the following prominent families: Russel, Bradley, Riddle, Capps, Kirby, and Kautz, who have ever been active in the best things that have made Jacksonville prominent in the State.

Pitner—Thomas J. Pitner, son of William and Catherine (Price) Pitner. William Pitner was a teacher in east Tennessee and came with the early immigrants to Illinois, settling in Cass County, while his brother settled in Morgan County. Thomas was a student in Illinois College, later studied medicine in several schools in the United States, then went to Vienna, Austria, as a private student for nearly two years. It is easy to see why Doctor Pitner immediately took rank among the leading men of his profession. Doctor Pitner was a very active man in all civic affairs, as well as in the Medical Fraternity. He was a Trustee of Illinois College and the President of the Trustees of Illinois Woman's College, filling both positions with honor and dignity.

There are many other families that might be mentioned as having come into Morgan County from Tennessee, among them P. D. Keplinger coming in a covered wagon in 1828, bringing eight sons and four daughters. P. D. Jones and the Burrus family near Meredosia. Other will no doubt occur to the readers in that section of the country.

BENCH AND BAR.

Many of the early historians have devoted a great deal of attention to the men who composed the legal fraternity. There is no question but that this group of men who had to aid in the making of the laws for this new country, then in turn were called upon to interpret the law in settling all manners of questions arising therefrom, really composed a most worthy body of men. One fact might be mentioned just here, that Tennessee offered a number of good law schools at that early date, so many took advantage of that for their legal training. This was the case, for instance, with Judge Lansden of Cairo, who after he finished Illinois College went to Lebanon Law School, and later settled in Cairo. No attempt is made at present to pick out all this body of fine men, but we will mention a few in passing.

William A. Woods of Chicago—He was born in Farmington, Tennessee, May 16, 1837. His father died while the boy was an infant. The mother re-married to Capt. J. J. Miller, who was bitterly opposed to slavery, and moved to Iowa to get away from that influence. Young Woods went to the schools in Iowa, thence to Wabash College in Indiana, taught school in Indiana, Marion. In 1867 he was elected a member of the General Assembly of Indiana. In 1873 he was elected Judge of the Circuit Court, in 1881 to the Supreme Court of Indiana. In 1883 he was appointed by President Arthur Judge of the United States District Court, later in 1892 he was appointed to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals with Chicago as his home. Associate Chief Justice Brewer in 1898 paid high tribute to Judge Woods for the decision rendered in the labor troubles, saying that he was "the hero of that struggle for the domination of the law." He had a genius for interpreting the law. He was endowed with great courage, a firmness of character, strength of will, a tenacity of purpose, a capacity for work. He was a stanch Republican, strong in his social qualities, a leading Presbyterian layman in Chicago.

Jacob McGacock Dickinson—Born in Columbus, Mississippi. He early went to Tennessee to school, finishing at the University of Nashville, and was admitted to the Bar in Nashville, where he practiced for about fifteen years. He married into a prominent Tennessee family, Martha Overton, April 20, 1876. He was Assistant Attorney General for United States, 1895-1897; General Counsel for the Illinois Central Railroad, 1901-1909; Secretary of War under Taft, 1909-1911; President of American Bar Association, 1907-1908. At present is associated with the firm, Taylor, Miller, Dickinson & Smith.

Alexander M. Jenkins, Murphysboro, was elected judge in 1859. Mention has already been made of Judge Jenkins as being the uncle of John A. Logan, in whose office Logan studied.

David A. Smith, Jacksonville—Mr. Smith was born in Charlotte, Virginia, but his parents moved to Pulaski, Tennessee, when he was a child and his education was all received in that State. He was a student of the Rev. Mr. Wier, and Judge Bramlett. When a young man he came to Illinois, settling first at Carlinville, moving to Jacksonville two years later. As he reached Illinois he freed his slaves, giving bond that none of them would ever become dependent upon the State. Mr. Smith was a very prosperous attorney, patriotic to the Union cause, public spirited for his town, liberal with his church and the college, as he was living next to the campus of Illinois College and treated it as one of his special objects of interest. He reared a large family, his children marrying into some of the other prominent families in that section of Illinois. One of his daughters became the wife of Hon. John M. Lansden of Cairo, mention of whom is made in this paper.

Mills—Chesley L. Mills was reared and educated in Tennessee. He was the father of Richard Watson Mills, who was a prominent attorney at Virginia and Jacksonville, Illinois.

Allen—William Allen, born in Wilson County, Tennessee, December, 1806, was the son of John Allen, one of the seven heroic and immortal soldiers of General Jackson who gave his life in New Orleans when the British were repulsed. William was married to Elizabeth Joiner, 1826. They came to Illinois in 1830, locating at Marion. In 1842 he became a member of the State Legislature, followed that term by that of State's Attorney, was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1847, when he was considered one of the most active men in that convention. In 1850 he was elected to Congress, which position he held until he retired in 1855. But in 1857 he was elected to the position of Judge, holding that position until his death in 1859. Judge Allen was ever held in high esteem by his fellowmen, and he rendered valuable service for his people.

Freels—Jesse M. Freels, born in Anderson County, Tennessee, October 13, 1842. After attending the country schools he went to Tennessee College, then to Amherst to study law, later to Iowa University of Law. He began the practice of law in East St. Louis, marrying Miss Alice Tunnell, daughter of John Tunnell, a member of another Tennessee family mentioned in this paper.

Lansden—Mention has been made of the Rev. Abner Wayne Lansden in connection with the early missionaries from Tennessee

into the Illinois Country, locating in Sangamon County, where he lived for thirty years ministering to the Rock Creek Presbyterian Church much of the time. But in connection with the Bar of Illinois few attained greater eminence than did John M. Lansden of Cairo. It is fitting to add an additional paragraph or two. In this young man is combined two illustrious families of leaders. His father and two brothers were pioneer ministers of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, while his mother had three brothers who were ministers in the Presbyterian Church, who already have been mentioned—James, Allen and William G. Gallaher. The Gallaher family in Tennessee were friends of Andrew Jackson, and his grandmother's family, Green, also formed a part of a staunch Presbyterian community in Tennessee. John was first a student in Lebanon, Tennessee, but because of the disturbed conditions entered Illinois College in 1860, graduating in 1861. He then went to Albany, N. Y., Law School, graduating in 1865. He located in Cairo, Illinois, in 1866, where for sixty years he took prominent leadership in his profession. He served in many positions of honor and trust, wrote a history of his city, continued active in his work almost up to the very last, having been called on 1922.

SPECIAL MENTION OF A FEW FAMILIES.

There are many people who have a rightful place of worthy mention in this type of a paper, if only the writer were more familiar with the facts in the case. He is not a historian, and does not have access to the type of a library that one should have to collect such data. But he is interested in the history of both Tennessee, his native State, and in Illinois, his home State. The only call upon me that seems to warrant this attempt of collating this material is that in giving my services to my fellowmen it has fallen to my lot and duty to be in the different portions of the State, until in some measure it has become more familiar to me than to some others. In every section it has been my good fortune in the closer study of people to find some good and remember that. When I finally consented to undertake this task there was not time for a careful survey, such as should be made, and I mention only a few of the families that have come before me.

William G. Greene, son of William Greene, born in Overton County, Tennessee, came to Illinois when he was but nine years of age, settling in Menard County, near Tallula. Lincoln came to New Salem when he was about 21 years of age; Greene was about 18, and there rapidly sprang up a strong friendship. Greene became a student in Illinois College, 1833-1836, during the time that Richard Yates was a student. These two young men developed a very strong friendship, which lasted as long as they lived. In 1837 Greene returned to Tennessee for his wife, Louisa A. White, daughter of M. P. White, remaining in Tennessee till 1842. They went to Mississippi for a short time, then back into Illinois, settling in Mason County. In 1853 he established the town sites along the C. & A. Railroad, where one of the towns was named for himself—Greenview. The County of Greene and the town of Greenfield keep alive his family name also. It has been said of him that he paved the way for Yates to become

Governor of Illinois and for Lincoln to become President. Both of these men were in opposite party to him, but his strong friendship for them gave him the opportunity to aid them and at the same time render a service that was invaluable.

Vance—Samuel Vance and wife, Sarah Colville, emigrated from Scotland to Ireland, and on account of religious persecution came to this country, landing at the port of Philadelphia in 1735. After a few months they joined Jonathan Hite, and with sixteen other families—mostly Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, who were the earliest settlers west of the Blue Ridge Mountains in the Shenandoah valley, settling on Opequon Run, three miles south of the present site of Winchester. Here John Vance was born in 1736. Here he married Jane Blackburn, who was born February 4, 1741; a daughter of John Blackburn of Opequon Run. Here their fourth son was born, Samuel Vance, December 27, 1769. In 1773 John Vance and his relatives, Joseph Black, George Arthur and William Blackburn, moved southwest. In 1776 they erected Black's Fort, on the present site of Abingdon. Samuel Vance married Mary Blackburn, February 4, 1793, daughter of William Blackburn, who lost his life at the battle of King's Mountain, North Carolina, October 7, 1780. After marriage Samuel Vance, with his mother's brother, Joseph Black, and others, migrated to Tennessee, into the territory now embraced in Blount and Knox Counties, selected a place for a county seat, and named it Maryville. Later, Samuel Vance returned to Abingdon, Va., where William Blackburn Vance was born, August 3, 1796. About 1810 Samuel Vance returned to Maryville, Tennessee, where he engaged in farming as a business, later coming to Edgar County, Illinois, his son, William Blackburn Vance, being about 14 years of age. William Blackburn Vance became the father of Joseph W., who was later chosen Adjutant General of Illinois, serving for a period of eight years under Governors Hamilton, Oglesby and Fifer. His son, Dr. Boyle Vance, is a successful business man in Chicago.

Worthington—Dr. Thomas Worthington and Luther Tunnell settled in Madison County, but the brother, Calvin Tunnell, pushed on to what is now Greene County, near Carrollton, in 1817, bringing their families from Anderson County, Tennessee. The Tunnell family has been an illustrious family and there are on record more than 5,000 descendants. Calvin Tunnell was a member of the State Legislature when the capital was at Vandalia.

Hon. Thomas Worthington was born in Spencer County, Tennessee, 1850. They migrated to Illinois and lived near Pittsfield. After finishing the schools at Pittsfield he went to Cornell, graduating with high honors. Then he went to Chicago for his law training. He practiced law in Pittsfield, Illinois, Baltimore, Maryland, and Jacksonville, Illinois. He was considered one of the ablest men in his profession by those of his colleagues, having won some big cases against some noted attorneys. There yet live in Jacksonville a number of the members of this illustrious family.

Patterson—Robert W. Patterson, D. D., son of Alexander and Sarah (Stevenson) Patterson, was born 1814 in Maryville, Tennessee. In 1824 the father came to Illinois, settling in Bond County. He

entered Illinois College, 1832, when Dr. Edward Beecher was president. Later, he went to Lane Seminary and there was associated with Drs. Lyman and Charles Beecher. He took A. B., 1837, and A. M., 1840, from Illinois College; D. D. from Hamilton and LL.D. from Lake Forest. In 1859 he was moderator of the General Assembly, N. S. He was the first pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church, Chicago. He helped the organization of Lake Forest College. He became professor of Christian Experience and Ethics in McCormick Theological Seminary in 1874; afterwards, a similar chair in Lane Seminary. He was active in the reunion of the Old and New School Branches of the Presbyterian Church, actually writing the articles of agreement. It has been said of him: "As a pastor his career has been unsurpassed, if not peerless in the Presbyterian history of the Northwest." He died in Evanston, February 24, 1894.

PERRY—Edmond Perry, son of Nathan and Rebecca (Yarberry) Perry, was born in North Carolina and married Rachel Bridges. They settled in Clairborne County, Tennessee, on Powell's River. Edmond served in the War of 1812. He and two of his brothers came to Illinois in 1829-1830, the winter of the big snow storm. In June, 1830, Edmond returned to Tennessee for his family and brought, not only his family, but his parents and a number of others, making seven Perry families in all. From these families there sprang something like fifty heirs, and one of the descendants recently said he had more than 100 cousins; so they were a prosperous family. They journeyed with ox teams, undergoing many hazards for four or five weeks to make the trip. One incident occurred in crossing one of the rivers upon a crudely constructed raft, when the mother saw the raftsmen pitch over her linen chest, to lighten the load on the raft. Imagine the feeling of this housewife as she beheld her Irish linen put into the bottom of the river! One of the outstanding luxuries of their overland trip was the finding of a vacant house in the village of Springfield, which they appropriated as their own during their sojourn. Coming from the mountains of Tennessee, Sangamon County, with its low, flat prairie. undrained, did not appeal to them. They saw very few trees, and they did not know how to live without timber for fencing and fuel. The next stop was in Morgan County, a little north of Jacksonville, on the Mauvaisterre River. Here the prairie sod looked too difficult to break, the ground too level for them, they decided to push on to the hills and timber of Brown County, locating just north of Mt. Sterling, in Cooperstown Township. The next spring, as soon as corn was planted, the father took to the woods with his rifle and by fall had venison hams enough to sell and to make his first land payment. This Perry family was composed of big, husky men; fine physical specimens, to whom any sort of unfair dealing was unthinkable. It was said of the Perrys in early days that a small bunch of them looked like they could whip a regiment, for all of them were over six feet tall. That is the kind of people that constituted Jackson's riflemen at New Orleans. They knew no such word as "fail." Every time a rifle cracked a Briton fell. Perhaps the strongest reason, however, for taking the Perrys into Brown County was the fact that a number of those counties between the Illinois and the Mississippi Rivers were set apart for the

1812 soldiers, and has always since been referred to as the "Military Tract." Edmond, a soldier, was looking for that section, as did many others of the soldiers' families. These men developed a community which was a model for making a new country, and their influence in the mass has been very great, not by precept, but by practice, and by unostentatiously setting an example of practically perfect behavior.

REV. JOHN M'CUTCHEN BERRY—To Rev. John McCutchen Berry must be accorded special honor as the organizer of the Church at Rock Creek, Sangamon County. Born in Virginia, he moved to Tennessee in his boyhood. He professed religion among the Cumberland Presbyterians and early felt the impression to preach. He married Miss Frances Williams, who was opposed to his being a preacher. In 1812 he joined the army. The expedition was against the Indians in Illinois. They found no Indians and returned home almost starved. Another expedition was inaugurated under General Jackson for New Orleans. Mr. Berry was in that terrible battle, and at that time promised God that if he would spare his life, he would do whatever was in his power to do. He often said that "January 8, 1815, made Andrew Jackson President and me a preacher."

Mr. Berry was a close friend and adviser of Abraham Lincoln, who often was in his home. He lived over thirty years in the same community, preaching there and in near surrounding places. On October 5, 1921, the remains of Mr. Berry and his wife were brought from Clinton, Illinois, and reinterred in Rock Creek cemetery, on land which he had at one time purchased from the government. A fitting tablet was placed in the churchyard to honor his memory.

BONE—Elihu Bone was born in North Carolina, coming with his parents to Tennessee when very young. Here he grew to manhood and married Nancy Brown Warnick in Wilson County, Tennessee, in 1815. In 1824 they came to Menard County, Illinois, being one of the first families in that section of the country. He took a claim on Rock Creek, built a two-story log house on it, later replaced it with a two-story frame house, which is still standing. From time to time he purchased more land, until he owned a thousand acres. Elihu Bone was a man of sound judgment and served his generation well in both civic and religious affairs. He was a justice of the peace for many years, a member of Menard County's first grand jury, which held its sessions under the shade of a big tree; he was a member of the Illinois Legislature, 1842-44, always standing for the interests of the common people. His wife was a noble woman. She and her husband were the mainstays of the church in their community. Their sons and daughters rise up and call them blessed, some of whom have been in the church and active in all the community affairs for this entire time. This family has had a wonderful influence for good, and with their companions have made one of the most progressive communities to be found in the State.

CONCLUSION.

Thus and from these few examples we can gather and estimate the force and strength of the early Tennessee pioneers who laid so

well the foundation upon which "Illinois Country" hath been builded. We might go into many other sections of the State to find illustrious examples of these same people. It is the desire that a beginning having been undertaken the Historical Society may follow up until this entire group may have been collated.

Note: It is frankly admitted that, in the foregoing paper, there has been made scarcely more than a preliminary study of the subject, so far as known the first in Illinois.

Many State and local, as well as National authorities have been consulted.

Particularly are thanks due, and hereby expressed to these friends for cordial and valuable assistance.

Hon. Ensley Moore, Jacksonville.

Mrs. Minna Worthington (Mrs. A. L.) Adams, Jacksonville.

Judge C. C. Boggs, Fairfield.

Rev. G. A. Wilson, D. D., Tallula.

COMMERCE AND UNION SENTIMENT IN THE OLD NORTHWEST IN 1860.

A. L. Kohlmier, Indiana State University.

At least three things in 1860 tended to keep the region lying between the Great Lakes and the Ohio River together. First, the region had had a sufficient community of interest in its dealings with the national government to constitute in some respects a distinct section of the country. The people of the Northwest had on more than one occasion shown evidences of a consciousness of the fact that in some respects their interests were one. The politicians of the Northeast and of the South had for years taken that fact into consideration when intertwining issues in presidential elections and combining interests in national legislation. Second, of the five political divisions of the Old Northwest three touched, with their northern boundaries, the Great Lakes and, and with their southern boundaries, rested upon the Ohio. Together they reached from the eastern limits of the region to the Mississippi. Third, the entire area was free soil and its people had no intention of changing that status. The region had first been made free by legislation by the central government, had been so maintained by state enactment, and had practically been put beyond the possibility of change by climatic conditions and by having been settled by people who did not want to hold slaves or were financially unable to do so. The few inhabitants who desired to introduce slavery have attracted attention out of all proportion to their importance.

Three facts tended to cause the Old Northwest to pull apart somewhere along the old national road. First, the northern part lay, in general, within the valley of the Great Lakes, while the southern part lay within the valley of the Ohio River. Hence most of the northern part was in the glaciated area, and was almost universally adapted to grain production on a fairly large scale. The southern part, on the other hand, had a far greater proportion of hill land, whose soil was more quickly exhausted, and not so well adapted to large scale agriculture. Second, the northern part was settled extensively by people of New England ancestry, while the southern part had a large proportion of the southern upland stock.

There were, of course, important exceptions to this generalization. But the people of the northern part looked with consideration upon northeastern culture, institutions, and leaders. They had not entirely outgrown some of the mental traits of their ancestors and took themselves fairly seriously. Looking upon themselves as their brothers' keepers, many felt called upon to do what they could to restrict the spread of slavery everywhere. In

the southern part were many who were bound by ties of blood and sentiment to people in the South. As individualists, however, they did not look for inspiration to the Southerners or to anyone besides themselves. They were not anxious to settle the slavery question for people living outside the Old Northwest. They had as little use for the Yankees as the latter had for them. The rapid development and prosperity of the Lake region in comparison with the western end of the Ohio Valley during the twenty-five years preceding the Civil War had not lessened this mutual feeling.

Third, the two parts had different commercial connections and interests. The northern part exported its surplus through the northeastern gateway of the Old Northwest, while the southern part exported through the eastern gateway and to the South. The statistics for the exports through the northeastern gateway, over the railways and the canals of upper New York state and of Canada, in 1860, indicate an increase over that of twenty-five years before that has seemed to some to require some kind of explanation.[1] During the same period of time the receipts of the same kinds of commodities at New Orleans showed a steady but much smaller rate of increase up to about 1853, and then remained almost stationary.[2] The railroad maps of the Old Northwest for the fifties depict the gradual completion of rail routes connecting lake ports with ports on the Ohio and on the Mississippi.[3] Taking these three facts together it has been easy to jump to the conclusion that the relatively large increase in the exports through the northeastern gateway was due to the fact that the railroads brought from the Ohio valley commodities that had formerly been transported southward. This conclusion is, however, not justified. The railroads had not weaned the Ohio valley away from its economic connection with the South. The railroads were useful in rerouting the commodities of this valley after the South had been closed during the war, but the change had not yet come in 1860. The people of the Ohio valley did not decide to fight the people of the South so much because they had concluded that they could get along economically without the South as they did because they believed that they could not get along without it. One needs to study the annual reports of railroads and canals to discover the source, destination and quantity of shipments.[4] From these it appears that the increased export through the northeastern gateway by 1860 was really due to the increased population of the Lake region and the region to the west of the Lakes. In 1835 the exports northeastward, through or around the eastern end of Lake Erie, went from that part of the lake region that was producing a

[1] N. Y. Senate Doc. 1836 No. 70 Statement C. No. 1 and statement D. No. 1; N. .Y Assembly Doc. 1861, Vol. V. No. 93, pp. 136-138; Tables of the Trade and Navigation of the Province of Canada for the year 1860, pp. 10-125, 242-244; Report of the President and Directors of the N. Y. Central—for year ending Sept. 1860; First Annual Report of the Directors of the Erie Railway coming for the year ending Dec. 31, 1862; some of the data also printed in census of 1860 Agriculture CXLVIII, CLI; Statistics of For. and Dom. Commerce 1864, pp. 126-127, 159-163; Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance, January 1900, p. 1860.

[2] House Ex. Doc. 50th Cong. 1st Ses., Vol. 20 No. 6, part 2 pp. 200-218; DeBow's Review. Vol. 29, p. 521.

[3] Curran Dinsmore's American Railway Guide, and Appleton's Guide, published monthly, gave maps and time tables for parts of roads in operation.

[4] Most satisfactory are the reports of the Pennsylvania, the Baltimore and Ohio, the Cleveland and Pittsburgh, the Cleveland, Columbus and Cincinnati, the Little Miami and the Columbus and Xenia, the Toledo and Wabash, and the Illinois Central. The annual reports of the state canals published under various names give full details.

surplus and from a part of central Ohio that had already been annexed to the lake basin by the Ohio canal. In 1860 the exports northeastward went from the lake region, the region to the west, and from such other areas in northern Ohio, northern Indiana and northern Illinois as had been annexed by the opening of the Ohio Canal, of the Wabash and Erie Canal, and of the Michigan and Illinois canal. With trifling exceptions, no region in the Ohio Valley was exporting northeastward in 1860 which had once exported southward or eastward.[5] The regions annexed by the canals to the basin of the lakes were annexed before those regions had begun to produce much of a surplus, and while the railroads facilitated commerce they made no considerable change in the direction of commerce except in one case. That was the deflecting of commerce from the northeastern gateway to the eastern gateway by the Pittsburg, Ft. Wayne and Chicago road. In 1835 the Ohio valley, excepting the part annexed by the canals to the lakes, shipped southward, or eastward from the upper reaches of the Ohio. So it was in 1860. Excepting coffee, sugar, molasses and part of the salt, nearly all imports into the Northwest in 1835 as in 1860 came by the northeastern and by the eastern gateway.

Two changes had, however, taken place that were due to the opening of the railroads. Meats and live stock made up a far more important proportion of the exports through the northeastern gateway in 1860 than in 1835. It was the railroads of the Northwest and more especially those of upper New York state that had made this change possible. The canals were frozen up during the packing season and could not handle live stock efficiently at any time.[6] Hence the lake region did not go into the live stock production extensively till after the opening of the railroads. The other change applied to the Ohio valley. A considerable proportion of the commodities shipped from the Ohio valley to New Orleans in 1835 was reshipped to places along the Mississippi above new Orleans, to Charleston, to Baltimore, and to New England.[7] By 1860 more places along the lower Mississippi were supplied directly from the Northwest. Goods were also shipped directly to Memphis and thence by rail eastward to Chattanooga and into the interior of the South. Greater quantities than formerly were also shipped up the Cumberland and the Tennessee rivers and over the newly opened Louisville and Nashville railroad.[8] The two last named lines of communication established contact with the railroad running eastward from Memphis to Chattanooga. From the latter place pork and corn were forwarded by rail to Charleston, to Savannah and to other southeastern points. Pork that had formerly gone by New Orleans to Baltimore or live stock that had been driven eastward over the Cumberland road, in 1860 went for the most part over the

[5] Statement chiefly based upon a study of "Annual Statements, Reports, and Reviews" of the Trade and Commerce for 1860 of Chicago, of Toledo, of Detroit, of Milwaukee, of Cincinnati; of similar Statements, etc., of Cleveland for 1858 and 1865, of St. Louis for 1859 and 1865 and of Evansville for 1857 and 1867; of the annual reports for 1860 of railroads and of canals radiating from those cities; and of documents cited under note 1.

[6] The annual reports of the canal commissioners of the Erie Canal always indicated the length of time the canal was closed for the winter. In the statistics of commodities carried live stock is seldom mentioned.

[7] DeBow's Review gives annual exports of New Orleans and their destination.

[8] Annual Statement of the Commerce of Cincinnati for the year ending August 31st, 1860, p. 8; Annual Review of the Commerce of St. Louis, etc., for the year 1859, (Missouri Republican) p. 4; History of Ohio Falls Cities, Vol. I, p. 324.

Baltimore and Ohio railroad to Baltimore. While New England after the completion of her railway connections with the Great Lakes drew her provision imports from that source rather than from the Ohio valley by way of New Orleans. To the Northwest New Orleans was relatively a little less important than formerly, but the South as a whole was as important as ever. The Ohio valley was in 1860 as closely connected economically with the South as in 1835. Southwestern Ohio had during the fifties become more industrial, so that Cincinnati's prosperity depended in part upon the fact that she was a distributing center for a country a hundred miles around and depended less than formerly upon her export to the lower Mississippi. Yet when the war came, Cincinnati for a time was in economic distress.[9] Towns further down the valley felt even more keenly the effect of losing their trade with the South and through the South. Some managed to hurry their exports south before the trade was forbidden.[10] But when this trade had been pretty effectually stopped, some of those towns found their economic life permanently impaired.[11] So serious appeared the outlook for a time that Lincoln made special arrangement to relieve the Ohio valley by making purchases of government supplies there.[12] The Illinois Central railroad laid down as much freight at Cairo during each of the first four months of 1861 as in all the eight remaining months of the year, an evidence of the extent of the regular export from the southern half of Illinois to and through the South.[13] Prior to 1860 Chicago had scarcely shipped anything to the South but during the year preceding the war she was beginning to ship thence in large quantities and her merchants and packers were congratulating themselves on the acquisition of a new market.[14]

Some of the Southern leaders were in 1835 conscious of this economic connection between the Northwest and the South and were seeking to perfect the lines of communication and of transportation both for commercial and for political purposes. By 1860 they were in part closing their eyes to this connection and in part misinterpreting its significance in the event of attempted separation. The so-called southern commercial conventions that were held almost annually during the fifties became more and more political in character as time went on. Together they constituted the sessions of a kind of Congress of the South that envisaged the South as a future economic entity if not as a political entity. The delegates planned direct trade with England and South America. They discussed the building of east-and-west railways through the South with the aid of the Federal government or of an association of the southern states. They hoped to weaken the economic connection between the Northeast and the South, but considered the Northwest hardly at all. When they did, it was usually to point out that the South could produce her own pork and corn or that the Northwest would have to continue to be duly respectful be-

[9] Annual Report of the Commerce of Cincinnati for the year ending August 31st, 1861, pp. 5 and 6; Ibid., 1861, p. 5.

[10] *Ibid.*, 1861, pp. 6, 38.

[11] Report of the Evansville Board of Trade by J. W. Foster for 1867, p. 73.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 25; Nicolay and Hay; Complete Works of Lincoln, VI, p. 286.

[13] Illinois Central Railroad Company, Report and Accounts for the year ending December 31st, 1861, p. 1.

[14] Third Annual Statement of the Trade and Commerce of Chicago for the year ending December 31st, 1860, p. 18.

cause of its need for the southern market.[15] Southern gentlemen seem to have reasoned that the deference on the part of the people of the Ohio valley, which was really due to a desire to hold the South in the Union, would continue even after the South had left the Union. Lincoln, who had spent most of his life in the Ohio valley or on its fringes, saw more clearly. In 1861 he gave it as his opinion that, if the railway from Charleston to Cincinnati had been built in the years following 1835, secession could never have come, but that even without that road, the Mississippi might be a cross-tie of sufficient strength to hold the Union together ultimately.[16]

The people of the Old Northwest in contemplating, in 1860, secession and the formation of a northern and southern confederacy as an accomplished fact could see only three conceivable positions that the Old Northwest might occupy. First, it might break somewhere along the old national road, the part lying in the Ohio valley joining the southern confederacy and the part lying in the valley of the Great Lakes joining a northern confederacy. This breaking into of three of the states would have involved a double revolt on the part of the Ohio valley—a revolt against the Federal government and against three state governments. It would automatically have arrayed against the revolutionists the machinery of their state governments, each moving with a certain momentum in the fulfillment of the ends for which it had been instituted, and using in the struggle for self-perpetuation the resources over which it legally had command. In breaking up a state the revolutionists could not even have pleaded the southern doctrine of secession. With Yates, tutored in his task by Lincoln, and with Morton, who needed no tutoring from any man, in control of the political machinery and of half the population of two of the states, the breaking up of these two states could not have been accomplished without such active aid from the southern confederacy as could neither have been given nor accepted. Then it would have meant that a small non-slaveholding region north of the Ohio would have been rather more closely joined to a large slaveholding region south of the river than either of those two sections would have relished. A considerable proportion of the people north of the Ohio had originally crossed the river from the south because they did not care to live in a state where they had to compete with slave labor. A large number hated the negro whether free or slave. While the southern states in appointing commissioners to attend the secession conventions of neighboring states and to in every case urge secession, appointed delegates to every slave state but to no state north of the Ohio river.[17] Apparently the southern leaders felt quite frankly that they had had enough experience in being yoked up with free states. Finally, it would have meant placing the people of the Ohio valley under the political and economic domination of the South and placing the people of the Lake region in a similar position with respect to the Northeast. They would in neither case

[15] Writer used the Official Journals or Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley R. R. Convention held at St. Louis, 1852; Knoxville Convention 1836; the Charleston Convention of 1854; accounts of other conventions in DeBow's Review and other papers and pamphlets.

[16] H. C. Carey, to the Friends of Union, etc (pamphlet) p. 2.

[17] Statement based upon an examination of the different Journals of the Secession Conventions.

have had the numerical power nor the importance to have held their own; neither could they, as formerly, have obtained sectional concessions for themselves by threatening to join one side or the other in the contest between Northeast and South. The Ohio valley would have had the outlet at New Orleans and the southern market, but if the southern confederacy had decided not to spend the money to keep the sand bars and snags out of the Mississippi, they could not as formerly have used their possession of the balance of power to secure their desires through a rivers and harbors bill. Neither could they have threatened to use the northeastern route without first negotiating with a foreign power. The dividing of the Northwest was obviously impracticable.

A second conceivable position in 1860 would be for the Old Northwest to remain together and to thus become a part of either the northern or the southern confederacy. To have joined the southern confederacy would have meant for the lake region to have lost control over its northeastern outlet, part of its eastern market, and possibly access to the English market. The possibilities of getting the agricultural surplus out of the Old Northwest by the transport lines of the valleys of the St. Lawrence and of the Mississippi in case the Northwest separated from the Northeast were given consideration both in England and in America at that time, but the plans seem not to have been promising. For the wheat-growing lake region the breaking away from the Northeast would have meant nothing less than economic ruin. That region had increased in population and production in the fifties until it could not be carried into the southern camp by the Ohio valley against its consent. Then it would have meant the union with the slave-holding confederacy of a people in the lake region, a majority of whom were opposed to the existence of slavery anywhere. Finally it would have meant for the entire Old Northwest the same subjection to the political domination of the South that would have befallen the Ohio valley in case the valley had gone alone. On the other hand, in case the Northwest as a whole had joined the northern confederacy the Ohio valley would have lost its southern outlet and southern market. Governors, Congressmen and business men of the Northwest of that day almost unanimously expressed the opinion that they could never give up the southern outlet. Moreover the Northwest would in that case have been just as truly dominated politically and economically by the Northeast as they would have been in the other case by the South. While the people of the Ohio valley would not have had the qualms of conscience in entering an association with the Northeast that their northern neighbors would have had in joining a slave-holding confederacy, it would have been by no means a union of love. Obviously the Old Northwest could not as a whole join either Northeast or South and they did not.

Third, the Old Northwest conceivably might together stand aloof from both the northern and southern confederacy and establish a confederacy of its own. It would, however, have been a landlocked country deprived of every access to the sea except at the pleasure of some foreign power. This would have meant economic strangulation or fighting a way out later on. The plan of an independent north-

western confederacy was considered, but was manifestly the worst possible solution. It would have been better to have had even one line of communication with the outside world than none at all, but as Lincoln pointed out, all of the routes would be better than any one.[18]

All these possibilities contemplating secession as an accomplished fact were considered but all led to insurmountable difficulties. The fact is today apparent as it was to the majority in 1861, that no part of the country was more desperately in need of the preservation of the Union than was the Old Northwest. Putting aside the disintegrating effect of once admitting the right of secession, both the Northeast and the South could have endured as separate entities. But for the Old Northwest, land-locked, economically and culturally divided, drawn to North and to South, existence would have been intolerable. Manifestly it was to the interest of the Old Northwest to maintain the Union and the Constitution unimpaired. It could gain nothing by helping either North or South win the ascendancy in the Federal government. To preserve the balance of power and to preserve it by using that very advantage which they wished to keep was the true interest of the people of the Northwest. To formulate principles of settlement upon which they could agree, get the Federal government to voice those principles as its own, and then support the Federal government in the settlement was the only rational policy. In formulating these principles the bulk of the people of the Ohio valley could conscientiously have yielded more to the South in the matter of slavery extension than could either the people of the lake region or the Republican head of the Federal government. This willingness to yield was not an evidence of disunion sentiment, but on the contrary an evidence, in part, of the extreme to which they were willing in their agony to go to save the Union. In part, it was only the outgrowth of their conception of democracy.

While it is now fairly clear that much of the course and outcome of the Civil War turned upon the decision and activities of the Northwest, it is of no particular credit or discredit to the people of that region that they pursued the line of action that they did. They simply could not do otherwise. There was no other way out and most of them had come to realize that fact before the middle of '61. To Buchanan and to Lincoln belong the credit for having delayed, for a sufficient length of time, to, on the one hand, unfortunately convince many in the South and in the Northeast that the erring sisters would be allowed to depart in peace, and on the other hand fortunately to enable the people of the Old Northwest to mentally explore every avenue of escape only to discover that each was a blind alley and that there was no salvation for them save in union. To Lincoln belongs the credit for having so managed the closing of the Mississippi and of the southern trade frontier that, without having brought upon himself and the administration any of the onus for having caused economic distress in the Ohio valley, he yet brought the people of the valley to a full realization of the certainty and extent of the danger to their commerce in case a foreign power controlled the mouth of the Mississippi. It is a

[18] Nicolay and Hay: Complete works of Lincoln, VIII, pp. 113-115.

long and intricate story. To Lincoln belongs the credit for having shoved into the background every question between the North and the South except that of preserving the Union and for having so managed the Sumter affair that it appeared to the people of the Northwest that the Southerners were the aggressors bent upon destroying the Union. Among others the people of eastern Virginia had for years talked states rights and the community of southern interests until belief in those things filled their subconsciousness more fully than they perhaps knew. The people of the Northwest had for years realized the importance to themselves of belonging to a great union with a dominion stretching in all directions to the open sea and with a federal government strong enough to improve rivers, and to help build railroads and to open up the West. In their thinking, the Nation, the Union and the Federal government loomed large. When Sumter was fired upon the psychological complex of the people of eastern Virginia was such that, in spite of the sincere desire of many to help save the Union, to many of them it appeared that the Southerners had defended their government or were doing what was best for the interests of the South. The psychological complex of the people of the Northwest was such that, in spite of a sincere desire of many to make concessions, to them it appeared that the Southerners had attacked their government and were breaking up the Union, without which the Old Northwest would be doomed.

LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES OF MRS. JOHN A. LOGAN.

Mrs. A. S. Caldwell, Regent Logan Chapter Daughters of the American Revolution, Carbondale.

Mrs. John A. Logan! A Southern Illinois woman, with what pride we claim her! She who achieved the distinction of being one, among the greatest American women. The keystone of her life was Service. Patriotism, loyalty to her husband, home and friends were her chief characteristics. Thinking not of self she gave her untiring energy to her country, to her illustrious husband and to humanitarian organizations, thereby building for herself a name immortal in history. Surely the bread cast upon the water has returned to her in many fold.

HER PIONEER LIFE.

History recounts in detail her life as maid and wife in Southern Illinois. How she was married at the age of seventeen at Shawneetown, Illinois, to Lieut. John A. Logan, a young officer who had served in the then just closed Mexican War under her father, Captain Cunningham. Young Logan went to visit his Captain after the war and met and loved the Captain's daughter Mary. When he had wooed, won and married her, they journeyed overland from Shawneetown to Benton, Illinois. There Lieutenant Logan was prosecuting attorney, and there Mrs. Logan made a home and friends. To this day the house where they lived is shown visitors as Benton's chief historic spot. Later they took up their residence in Marion, Illinois. At the beginning of the Civil War Lieutenant Logan resigned his seat in Congress, where he was then serving and organized a regiment, the 31st Illinois Volunteer Infantry, of which he was made Colonel, and entered the Civil War of 1861-65. This period of Mrs. Logan's life reads like a wonderful romance. Her time was divided between the camp of her husband where she comforted, cared for and nursed the sick and wounded soldiers, and in Southern Illinois where she superintended the making and sending of supplies to the front. She also greatly helped, advised and encouraged the families left behind. She truly entered into the joys and sorrows of every man, woman and child in that section of Illinois.

For the last three years the writer of this sketch has been a close associate of Mrs. Logan and has noted with surprise, after the lapse of several decades, her ready memory of every name in Illinois which she then knew and her keen interest in them, their children, their marriages and successes in life.

HER LIFE AS THE WIFE OF A MAN IN PUBLIC SERVICE.

After the Civil War, history again records General Logan's public life. He later represented the twenty-fifth district in Congress and later served as United States Senator. During this time Mrs. Logan was her husband's private secretary and closest confident. She had a deep interest in politics and in the reconstructing of our government. Along with this she reared and highly educated her children and made a home in which were entertained the highest in the land.

HER PART IN MEMORIAL DAY.

One of the most beautiful holidays of our year, Decoration Day or Memorial Day as it has come to be called, was inspired by that generous hearted woman Mrs. Logan. The following is as she herself told it:

"The late Colonel Chas. L. Wilson, editor of the Chicago Journal of that day, invited a party consisting of his niece, Miss Anna Wilson (later Mrs. Horatio May), Miss Farrar, his fiancee (now all dead), General Logan, and myself, to visit the battlefields around Richmond in March, 1868. The importance of some measures then pending in Congress prevented General Logan, at the last moment, from going, but he insisted upon my going with these friends. We made a tour of every battlefield, fortification, temporary barricade and cemetery around the erstwhile Confederate capital, driving about in old tumble-down vehicles, drawn by lean, jaded horses, driven by thinly clad, poorly fed men, who had survived the long siege of Richmond. We saw the colored men, women and children digging out the lead and iron which had been shot into the fortifications, almost the only support of these wretched people. Visiting cemeteries and church yards, we were deeply touched by the withered wreaths and tiny flags that marked the graves of the Confederate dead. In the bleak March wind and light-falling snow, the desolation seemed most oppressive.

GENERAL LOGAN HEARS THE STORY.

"Returning together to the old Willard Hotel, where we then lived, sitting in our parlor after dinner, we recounted to General Logan the incidents of the trip and how deeply touched we were by the devastation and ravishes of war. In ohe church yard around an old historic church at Petersburg, every foot of the ground seemed occupied by the graves of the Confederate dead. Upon them lay wreaths once beautiful flowers now crumbling, which had been placed there by loving hands. Little faded Confederate flags marked each grave, mute evidence of the devotion of the Southern people to their loved and lost. General Logan was much impressed by our description, saying, 'The Greeks and Romans in the day of their glory, were wont to honor their hero dead by chaplets of laurel and flowers, as well as in bronze and stone,' and that as commander-in-chief of the Grand Army of the Republic and member of Congress from Illinois, which he then was, he would issue an order establishing Memorial Day, then called 'Deco-

ration Day.' He declared at the same time that he believed that he could secure the adoption of a joint resolution making it a national holiday and a national ceremony. He then took up a pencil and piece of paper and wrote the matchless order No. 11, and remarked he would submit it to his staff of the Grand Army of the Republic. He read what he had written to Colonel Wilson, who expressed his appreciation of the order and predicted it would be received with great enthusiasm all over the country."

HER LATER DAYS IN WASHINGTON.

And so the sunset of Mrs. Logan's life after such a remarkable career, was spent as she had desired it to be in beautiful "Calumet Place." The home is situated on a favored site overlooking the beautiful city of Washington. From its front windows may be seen the historic Potomac River, and beyond the Blue Ridge Mountains of Virginia, with Arlington, the home of Lee, plainly visible. In the foreground you may see the dome of the Capitol, set on its Roman hill, with its terraces, flowers and trees, also within the city is *the* monument, the enduring, slender shaft that was placed there in honor of the founder of his country.

"Calumet Place" itself is a shrine where patriots from every state in the Union visit and are heartily welcomed. The house is massive and is filled with the rarest of furnishings and decorations from every country in the world. It was a gorgeous setting for its illustrious mistress Mrs. Logan. Here she lived, so tenderly cared for by her beloved daughter, Mrs. Tucker. Here she held court, receiving statesmen, diplomats, ambassadors, and the most humble Americans. Her proudest boast was "I am an American!"

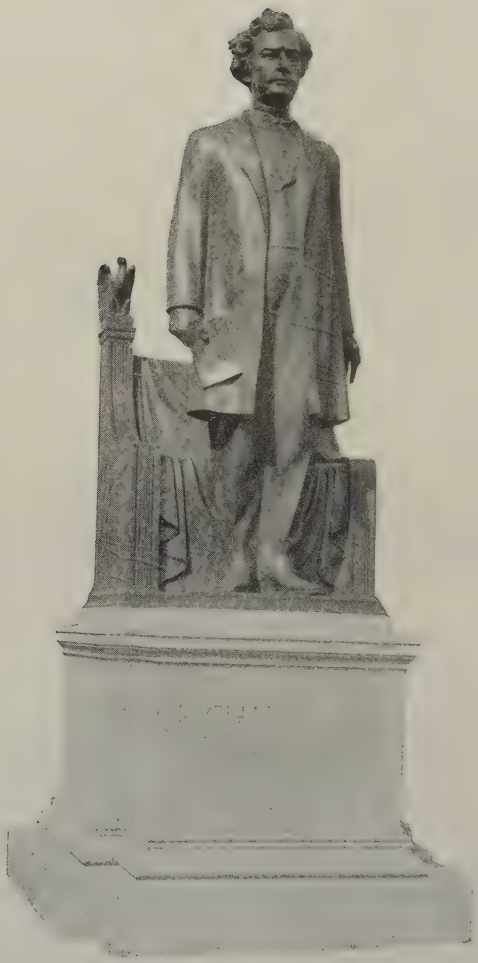
Of her, as well as of the soldiers, might these words of Longfellow be said:

"Rest, comrades, rest and sleep!
  The thoughts of men shall be
As sentinels to keep
  Your rest from danger free.

Your silent tents of green
  We deck with fragrant flowers;
Yours has the suffering been,
  The memory shall be ours."

PART III

Contributions to State History



Statue of Richard Yates

DEDICATION OF BRONZE MEMORIAL STATUES OF GOVERNOR RICHARD YATES, THE ELDER, AND GOVERNOR JOHN M. PALMER.

On Tuesday afternoon, October 16, 1923, at 2:30 o'clock bronze statues of two of Illinois' most illustrious Governors were dedicated on the grounds of the State Capitol at Springfield.

Plans had been made for out of door ceremonies for which a large platform seating sixty-five persons was erected between the two statues and like the statues facing East. Seats for nearly two thousand persons were placed directly in front of the platform. Governor Len Small presided over the exercises. Seated on the platform were three men besides the present Governor, who had presided over Illinois as its chief executive. They were Joseph W. Fifer, Charles S. Deneen and Richard Yates.

Secretary of State L. L. Emmerson, State Auditor Andrew Russel, Speaker of the House David E. Shanahan, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court William M. Farmer and other officials of the State were also present.

The family of Governor Richard Yates was represented by his son and only living child, Richard Yates, former Governor of the State, now Congressman at Large from Illinois and his wife.

Three children of War Governor Yates grew to manhood and womanhood. Henry Yates of Jacksonville, who was formerly Insurance Commissioner of Illinois, died in 1903. A daughter, Katie, the wife of Thomas B. Woodman, died many years ago. The widow of the War Governor survived her husband many years and had the happiness of seeing her son Richard Yates inaugurated Governor of Illinois.

Two daughters of Congressman Yates were present: Mrs. John Lyle Pickering of Flint, Michigan, and Miss Dorothy Yates. Mrs. Pickering was accompanied by her three children, Richard Yates Pickering, Dorothy Ann Pickering anad Mary Catherine Pickering. Mrs. Henry Yates of Jacksonville, widow of the War Governor's elder son was present as were William H. Yates, nephew of the elder Yates, his wife and their small granddaughter Margaret Lamphier Yates. Many other relatives and friends of the Yates family were present.

Of the family of Governor Palmer there were present his widow, Mrs. Hannah Lamb Palmer, his daughter, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, his grandchildren, Doctor and Mrs. George Thomas Palmer, Mr. and Mrs. Perry Jayne, Mr. and Mrs. George A. Fish, Miss Margaret Palmer Jayne, and two great grandchildren, William Louis Jayne and Margaret Ellen Jane. Mrs. Gideon R. Brainerd, the sister of Mrs. John M. Palmer accompanied Mrs. Palmer.

There are three children still living of Governor Palmer's large family. Of these, the oldest child, Mrs. Elizabeth Ann Matthews,

widow of Dr. J. P. Matthews, long a prominent physician of Carlinville, Ill., is in California and was unable to attend the dedicatory exercises. Another daughter, Mrs. Harriet Malinda Crabbe, wife of Edwin G. Crabbe of New York City, was unable to be present owing to the sickness of her husband. The youngest daughter, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber was present as has already been mentioned. The two sons of Governor Palmer who attained manhood, John Mayo Palmer and Louis J. Palmer, both brilliant lawyers, have been dead many years. A daughter, Margaret Ellen, wife of William S. Jayne, died some years ago.

There were several nephews and nieces of John M. Palmer in attendance on the dedication of the statue. Among them were: Albert D. Palmer and family, Litchfield; Mrs. J. D. Conley, Carlinville; Paul D. Head, Mrs. Sarah Head Headenburg of Chicago; Mrs. George J. Kable, Mrs. A. W. Jones, and Mrs. E. McAleney of Springfield, with many other relatives and friends.

Dr. O. L. Schmidt, President of the Illinois State Historical Society, Miss Georgia L. Osborne, Assistant Secretary of the Historical Society and Mother Josephine of the Dominican Convent were guests of honor by invitation of Governor Small and of the family of General Palmer. All Grand Army Posts of the State were also specially invited by Governor Small.

Arrangements for the dedicatory exercises were planned and carried out under the direction of Colonel C. R. Miller, State Director of Public Works and Buildings with the able assistance of Doctor C. M. Service of the same department. Beautiful invitations were sent by Governor Small to the relatives and friends of his two distinguished predecessors. A special effort was made to find the addresses and send invitations to the survivors of the famous 101 members of the General Assembly who on March 11, 1891, after a long struggle, elected General Palmer to the Senate of the United States.

The exercises were opened promptly by Governor Small, the presiding officer. The platform and all seats were crowded and many persons were standing.

The invocation was offered by Rev. H. C. First of Rock Island, Department Chaplain of the Illinois G. A. R.

Mrs. Gary Westenberger sang "Illinois" and then there came a down pour of rain. Governor Small requested the assemblage to proceed to the Auditorium of the new Centennial Building, which it did, but as the room can seat less than seven hundred it was impossible to accommodate more than about one-third of the people assembled on the Capitol grounds.

Adjutant General C. E. Black made way through the crowd for the Governor, the members of the two families, State officers and guests, and in a very short time the exercises were resumed and the program was carried on without further interruption.

Governor Small introduced the speakers.

A letter from Lorado Taft, member of the Board of State Art Advisers, giving some account of the creation and erection of the statues was read by Mr. Edgar S. Martin, State Architect. Mr. Martin introduced the sculptor of the Palmer statue, Leonard Crunelle of Chi-

Statue of John M. Palmer

cago, who modestly acknowledged the introduction with only a bow to the assemblage. Albin Polasek, the sculptor of the Yates statue was prevented by illness from attending the services dedicating the statues.

Hon. L. L. Emmerson, Secretary of State of Illinois, in a brief address accepted the care of the statues which is a part of his duty as custodian of the Capitol Building and Grounds. He told in a most interesting manner his plans for the development of the Capitol grounds.

The address on the War Governor Richard Yates was delivered by his son, Congressman-at-large from Illinois, Richard Yates.

Mr. Yates gave a resume of the life of his brilliant father, telling of his ancestry and his education, his professional and business training, his domestic and political life. He quoted largely from the writings of the men of the Elder Yates' period, from the newspapers of the day and from official sources. He also paid loving tribute to Catherine Geers Yates, wife of the elder Richard Yates and mother of the Richard Yates of today.

It is a hard thing for a son to write or speak adequately of his father but Mr. Yates performed this difficult task successfully and paid a just and eloquent tribute to the memory and services of the gallant and brilliant man who was his revered and honored father.

The address on John M. Palmer was delivered by Hon. Norman L. Jones, Judge of the Seventh Judicial District of Illinois. Judge Jones as a boy and very young man had known and admired John M. Palmer. He has been a student of the long and eventful career of the man who as a teacher, a lawyer, a soldier, a governor and a United States Senator for more than half a century, stood out before the people of Illinois and the nation, as a man who followed his own conscience no matter at what cost.

The address of Judge Jones was more than an ordinary one. It was delivered entirely without notes and at times it reached the heights of an oration. It does justice and honor to the memory of the man whom he sought to memorialize and reflects credit and honor upon himself for its careful preparation and historical accuracy.

The addresses of Congressman Yates and Judge Jones are published in full in this volume.

After the close of Judge Jones' address, Miss Dorothy Yates, granddaughter of Governor Yates, and Miss Margaret Palmer Jayne, granddaughter of Governor Palmer, were escorted by members of the National Guard in uniform to the statues and these young ladies each preceded by a soldier bearing a laurel wreath, pulled the ropes which held the American flag with which each statue was draped, and as the folds of the National banner fell away and were caught by the hands of young men in the uniform of our country's defenders, there stood revealed in enduring bronze, the figures of these two men who had lived and labored each in his own way for the good of his country and of his fellowmen.

The State of Illinois has in gratitude and reverence erected these statues that her citizens and her youth may realize that honesty, bravery, justice and self sacrifice are essential virtues for which Americans should aspire and which even in this swiftly changing world are changeless and unforgotten.

THE GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF ILLINOIS

REQUESTS THE HONOR OF YOUR PRESENCE
AT THE DEDICATION OF THE
BRONZE STATUES OF

FORMER GOVERNORS OF ILLINOIS
RICHARD YATES 1861-1865
JOHN M. PALMER 1869-1873

ON THE GROUNDS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE CAPITOL
TUESDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER SIXTEENTH
NINETEEN HUNDRED AND TWENTY-THREE
AT TWO-THIRTY O'CLOCK

DEDICATORY EXERCISES

Governor Len Small, Presiding

Invocation.....Rev. H. C. First, Rock Island
Department Chaplain Illinois G. A. R.

Song, "Illinois".....Mrs. Westenberger

Remarks .....Governor Small

The Statues.....Lorado Taft
Member of Board of State Art Advisers

Letter read by Mr. Edgar S. Martin, State Architect

Accepting the Care of the Statues.....Louis L. Emmerson
Secretary of State of Illinois

War Music, 1861-1865

Address, Richard Yates, War Governor of Illinois, by his son, Richard Yates, Congressman-At-Large, Illinois

Music

Address, John M. Palmer.....Norman L. Jones
Judge of the Seventh Judicial District, Illinois

Music

The Statues unveiled by
Miss Dorothy Yates, Granddaughter of Governor Yates and
Miss Margaret Palmer Jayne, Granddaughter of Governor Palmer

Music .....America

Taps .....Bugler

Statue of Governor Yates is by Albin Polasek, Sculptor, Chicago

Statue of Governor Palmer is by Leonard Crunelle, Sculptor, Chicago

Richd. Yates

RICHARD YATES, WAR GOVERNOR OF ILLINOIS

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY HIS SON, RICHARD YATES, CONGRESSMAN-AT-LARGE, ILLINOIS, UPON THE OCCASION OF THE DEDICATION OF THE STATUE OF RICHARD YATES, WAR GOVERNOR OF ILLINOIS, AT SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS, OCTOBER 16, 1923.

Governor Small, Senators and Representatives, Soldiers and Citizens, my Fellow Countrymen and Country Women:

Called by the partial voice of the generous Governor of my native State, I have come here today to say a few things upon this sweetly solemn occasion and in this imposing presence I respond to the call with pride, although I, of course, know full well, that many a man and woman among you, my audience, might with much more propriety and more satisfactory result, have been honored with the invitation.

To you, Governor Small, and to the General Assembly, its presiding officers and members, thanks are due from every friend of my father. And I am sure that he, and all his dearly beloved ones, wherever they are in the universe, are gratified at this hour—this hour for which his fame and friends have waited for fifty years—the fifty years which have elapsed since he died in 1873.

And I would be recreant to a natural impulse if I did not say that I appreciate deeply this privilege which Governor Small has given me. I, too, have lived fifty years for this hour, in hope that this hour some memorial, this statue, might come.

If it be unusual for a son to talk about his father, please remember that it is unusual for sons to be in political life at all. The 48 states of the American Union have contained, all told, about two thousand Governors, and to no son but myself, so far as I can learn, has this honor come; but it should be said, also, few other Governors ever encouraged sons to seek public position, whereas my father called me to him and said, "My son, I want you to grow up and serve the Republic and the State."

I feel that I must add that I believe that the Yates of the long ago, about whom I am to speak, is, at this hour, pleased and gratified that honor and decoration, distinction and embellishment are today bestowed upon John M. Palmer—Major General, Governor and Senator, Union Soldier, Republican Governor, Democratic Senator, independent nominee for President, John M. Palmer. All about us today we feel the modesty and majesty of the presence of General Palmer, and we are inspired and fired by his great example and high endeavor.

At the very outset please take notice that I will strive, continually, to keep my remarks relevant and not irrelevant.

On "Thursday evening, June 17, (1869)," the Daily Dispatch, St. Louis, "published daily, tri-weekly and weekly," by Foy & McHenry, 313 North Third Street," appeared with an article at the head of its editorial column, reading as follows:

A Funeral Oration.

We publish today the address recently delivered by Honorable Richard Yates, U. S. Senator from Illinois, at Jacksonville, on the occasion of the decoration of the soldiers' graves last month. It is a genuine funeral elege—a rythmical and tender reverie. Unlike so many of the speeches made the same day, it is entirely free from partisan influences. The more humane and enlightened spirit which has arisen here and there, out of the thick darkness of radicalism, calls for recognition, and hence it is that we take pleasure in pointing out every indication of the returning calm and sunlight.

This speech, it is not too much to say, has a merit that the oratory of our politicians can seldom or ever boast of—it is in strict keeping with the motive and character of the ceremonies which it illustrates. The memories of the brave who have sunk to rest, and the symbolism of the floral offerings heaped on their graves are, exclusively, its ideas. *There is no irrelevance.* The *whole world* and the rest of mankind are not reviewed and judged, as the custom is with our famous orators. On the contrary, there is classical severity, and, as a consequence, the production is admirable in tone and in spirit, and well-nigh faultless in language."

The foregoing editorial is quoted, and is quoted now, because it gives expression, better than any words (of mine) could do, to the plan and intention, yes, to the desire and hope, upon the part of the compiler of *these* pages, that *this* sketch may have the merit of being *relevant* and not *irrelevant.* These words will also be the defense upon the part of this compiler against any complaint or criticism, that an address, upon this occasion, should enter into reviews or analyses of not only the life but the times (and of all the different great crises developed therein) together with a history of the causes thereof.

As I pen these words I look about upon chairs and tables bearing piles of manuscript, bound and unbound, pamphlets, bound and unbound, scrap books, letters, clippings and histories and biographies, and I am quite sure that if I were to undertake the analysis and diagnosis and history of causes, this paper, here, today and now, could only be described by some such comprehensive title as that of the "Weems Washington," bought by Richard Yates in his youth, namely, "The Life of George Washington; with Curious Anecdotes, Equally Honorable to Himself, and Exemplary to his Young Countryman, Embellished with Six Engravings."

The Soldiers' Friend.

Fellow Citizens: The man Yates of whom I speak today was called "The Soldiers Friend." He was Representative in the Legislature of Illinois three times; Governor of Illinois once; Representative in Congress two terms; and United States Senator once. He was college student; and graduate; student and graduate at Law

school; State's Attorney pro tempore; occasional orator, for example at the funeral of Illinois' foremost martyr in the Mexican War, John J. Hardin, and other memorial crises; speaker before the state grand lodges of fraternal bodies; lecturer in New England and other sections; president and manager of a young struggling railroad, (the "Tonica and Petersburg") and some other things in addition. But of all the titles he ever wore and won, none was so dear as the appellation constantly applied to him, from and after the firing of the first gun by an Illinois Soldier, in 1861, namely, *"The Soldiers Friend."* Through an error for which no one is to blame, unless it is I, myself, the phrase "The Wounded Soldier's Friend" appears on his statue. He *was* the wounded soldiers friend; but he was more than that. He was "the soldiers friend," in the sense that he ever stood ready to help (and aid and succor) any and every soldier (whether wounded or not) and in the sense that he was the friend and advocate (and protector and provider) of and for the widow (and the orphans) of every soldier, as well as of the soldier himself. I iterate and reiterate this phrase, "THE SOLDIERS' FRIEND," because he gloried in it, and, as already stated, was more proud of it, than of any other name or fame that he won and wore.

In the book entitled "The Patriotism of Illinois, by T. M. Eddy, D. D., Editor Northwestern Christian Advocate, he says: "As Governor he was the Soldiers Friend, on the field he went with them under fire, used every possible exertion to forward them sanitary supplies, to bring the wounded into hospitals and to their homes. The soldiers wife or widow could secure audience when officers were turned away."

The Daily Gazette of Dayton, Ohio, in its issue of October 2, 1863, said: "For two hours he held the vast audience in wrapt attention, not a person leaving the house. * * * Our citizens were happy to hear and see the man whom the Illinois soldiers loved so well and who was termed by the people as the soldiers friend."

The Springfield correspondent of the "Missouri Democrat," writing on the 8th day of June, 1864, says: "Many instances might be related showing the position Governor Yates occupies in the heart of the people. While from beneath the roof of many an humble cottage goes up a fervent prayer for our government, the army speaks with united voice in favor of "THE SOLDIERS' FRIEND."

In Jacksonville, Illinois, September 15, 1866, Honorable P. G. Gillett, in a speech of welcome, said: * * * "Because upon the battlefield, in the agonies of death, because always and everywhere, he is enshrined in the hearts of Illinois "Boys in Blue," whose colors were never struck, and whose backs were never turned on the foe—the soldiers' FRIEND—we welcome tonight."

In a book entitled the boys in blue, by Mrs. Hoge of the U. S. Sanitary Commission, it is said: "The Governors of the Northwestern States threw themselves into the army work with an ardor that was as striking as any other feature of this remarkable war. They stumped their respective states, to stimulate enlistments, Richard Yates, Governor of Illinois, achieved miracles in this respect, and then followed the brave boys, TO THE FIELD, with sympathy, love and assistance and frequently visited them IN PERSON.

In a book called "the Illini," the author Colonel Clark E. Carr says: Governor YATES DEVOTION TO THE SOLDIER DID NOT CEASE when that soldier was mustered in and had marched away. The Governor followed him to the battlefield, bound up his wounds, and brought him home to be nursed by loving relatives and friends or to die surrounded by them. He was always on the alert to see that Illinois soldiers in the field were promptly fed and clothed, and that so far as possible, they were provided with comforts. He richly earned the title by which he was everywhere known, "The Soldiers Friend."

In the "Daily New Mexico," General G. A. Smith said: "With a zeal unprecedented, he watched over the sick and wounded, and had them taken to their homes, when he saw it would benefit them. He provided them with every necessity—yea even luxury." "IN HIS DEATH THE SOLDIER HAS LOST A TRUE AND TRIED FRIEND."

On that dark Sunday, in November, 1873—Sunday November 30th,—when we attended his burial, there was again a reference to him as the soldiers friend. This time it came from the then Governor of the State, Governor John L. Beveridge. He said:

"We will leave him in the hands of a kind and loving Savior who was, himself, tempted as we are. Bury him not near the busy haunts of men. Bury him not near the echoing street, where the feet of men go tramping up and down. Bury him in some calm, secluded spot, under the green grass and the waving branches of trees. And when in the Spring, we come to decorate the hero graves drop a fragrant laurel on the grave of Yates, *The Soldiers best and dearest friend.*"

In January, 1863, there met at Springfield a State Constitutional Convention, and the first thing the convention did was to demand how it came to pass that Governor Yates had assumed to uniform and equip at State expense the volunteers from Illinois. He answered:

"I deem it due to the convention, however, to say that these gallant sons of Illinois, (our neighbors and kindred, the flower of the State, the chivalry of the land) have left their business, their homes, their wives and their children, to peril all for the country (and the institutions we love) and whenever they shall be found in suffering (and destitution) so long as I am Governor (and can find the means) I shall take the responsibility of furnishing them with the supplies necessary to their comfort."

This was followed by these words:

"The only regrets which I (now) have are, not that too much money has been expended (with a view to promote their comfort) but far too little, for the men who have so nobly undertaken to do (and dare) for their country, I am free to confess (what seems to be implied, in a resolution before your honorable body) that the troops have not had their wants supplied as they deserve, and that motives of economy (and desire to keep within appropriations) have prevented such expenditures as were necessary, for their full and complete comfort."

In 1873, in a conversation, which is well remembered, because in a week he was dead, I asked him if it was true, that night after night, he used to get up and walk the floor, all night long, with wringing

hands, and streaming eyes, and evidently with breaking heart, or was it all a dream of mine. He replied, in substance and effect:

"O no, indeed, that was no dream; that actually occurred. Those were the telegram nights—the nights on which a telegram would come from the South, saying substantially, *"Big Battle today; ten thousand killed, wounded and missing; over half the regiments engaged hail from Illinois."* They were my boys, all. In order to make the draft unnecessary I had again and again canvassed the state after every call for troops issued by President Lincoln, and had appealed, in a meeting in nearly every county, to the young men to enlist, and they did, thousand after thousand of them. Many of the meetings were at night, and there was no light, except the flaring torches on and about the speakers stand. And I can see their white faces yet, yes their white faces, I can see them yet, as I appealed to them, and promised them they would not be forgotten by their State, its governor or its people. Forever (after that promise and that response) I felt that I had fathered those boys ,and that each of them was my boy, (my own.) And that was why, I walked the floor, when the telegrams came."

He continued: "You can imagine my anxiety, to get to the battlefields, without delay. I can never forget my experience at the first battlefield. I arrived on my own Illinois Hospital Boat. Desiring to be the first man on shore, I started down the gang plank, the very moment it touched the land. But, before I could take more than one step, two soldier boys rushed up the plank, and said, "Here; take this boy; and they threw, into my arms, a boy, wounded and dying. He was all covered with blood, streaming from a horrible gash and gap in his breast. His breast was all torn and lacerated by a fragment of a shell, and his right arm hung shattered at his side, and he was just one mass of blood and gore. I received the precious burden in my arms, and turned and staggered up the plank, with it. And, just as I reached the deck of the steamboat, proper, that boy opened his eyes; and looked at me! And there was, in that look, both agony and ecstacy; the agony of the approaching dissolution, and the ecstacy, coming with the knowledge that he was going to Heaven, after having died for his country. He struggled and struggled, in the effort to speak, and finally, with much awful convulsive coughing, he managed to whisper. And with his fast failing breath he said, "O, who are you?" And I said, "O, my boy, I am the governor of Illinois." And that boy said, two things; "My Governor" and "Tell Mother"; and then he died, right there in my arms."

(He was the first of many to die in those loving arms, the arms of *"The Soldiers Friend."*)

"And that was what I was doing for four long agonized years; telling mothers."

As long as I live I shall feel deeply indebted to Mr. L. U. Reavis of St. Louis for the comprehension which he manifested in this lecture on the character of my father. The most striking passage in his lecture is on page 23 as follows:

"Governor Yates grew with the contest in all its gigantic proportions and its fierce conflicts, until he became the personal embodiment of the great state of Illinois. Emerson tells us that Plato is

philosophy and philosophy is Plato. In the magnitude of his great and benificent personality and in the fullness of official power as Governor, YATES WAS ILLINOIS AND ILLINOIS WAS YATES. He was earnest, decisive, courageous and persistent in his efforts to put down the rebellion, and with all, he was gifted and guided in his efforts by a super-abundance of practical wisdom. * * * The death of Douglas was compensated by the gift of Grant to the Nation. And in the providence of God, Governor Yates was made the Commissioner by whose hands this compensating law was administered, and Grant, meek and humble, like Jeptha of old, was commissioned to lead strong men to battle and soon he proved to be the boldest captain in Israel. * * * * Grant wrapped the glory of the republic around the globe and called the people of all lands to speak the praise of this great Republican Nation of the world; and this man was the gift of Governor Yates to the nation."

"In the prosecution of the war Governor Yates was in constant requisition and was unceasing in the discharge of his duties. Everywhere that duty called him he hastened. He was impatient and urging by tongue or pen, not only his own people, but those of the whole country, to greater deeds of valor and there was no man who surpassed him in earnest calls to the people. So well he discharged his personal and official duties that his name and fame became so deeply rooted in the hearts of the people that his services were solicited in every section of the loyal North, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. When the duties of the Executive office were discharged he repaired to the camp, and from the camp to the hospital and from the hospital to the political council and from the political council to the battlefield: And thus continued in one constant succession of duties in which he enlisted his whole soul, mind and strength. His labors were made greater because his great warm heart was enlisted in the cause of his country and in the welfare of the soldiers whom he urged to peril their all."

In his address on the 4th day of July, 1865, at Elgin, Kane County, Illinois, Governor Yates argued for the provision of homes for soldiers orphans as follows:

"Oh! if there be on this earthly sphere
A boon, an offering Heaven holds dear,
Sure 'tis the last libation liberty draws
From the heart that suffers and bleeds in her cause.

(Great sensation.) But the living are left with us—the wounded and the disabled, the widow and the orphan, the sorrowing and the stricken, the needy and the destitute—and will we not honor the dead by comforting the living; and will we not, so far as in us lies, provide for the relief and support of every destitute widow, and for the support and education of every indigent orphan of the deceased and disabled soldier? I have twice recommended to the Legislature to set apart a special fund for that purpose. And now I desire to say to the people of Kane County, and every county, that all the glory she has received in this war will be tarnished, if,with all her wealth and resources, anywhere in her boundary a single boy or girl of one of her deceased or disabled soldiers shall suffer for want of that sup-

port which the manly arm of the father might have given. (Cheers, and cries of that's so.) He stood between you and your enemies a living wall of fire; and now as the crippled soldier hobbles along on his crutch, saying, "I lost this leg as we scaled the heights of Donelson, this arm as we drove the enemy at the Hatchie, this eye as we climbed the heights of Mission Ridge"; or the poor wounded soldier on the battlefield, having seen the sun for the last time, and thinks of the dear ones at home, the hurried question runs through his mind, Who shall protect my wife amid the cold charities of an unfriendly world? And sends to you and me the prayer, "Let no rude and unhallowed hand be laid on that bright-eyed boy and girl of mine." (Sensation.) No, fellow-citizens, they are the children of the State and the country, and there are two things which I would do. I would make it the duty of the County Court to levy a tax—it would not be a large one, nor of many years continuance—to be legalized by the Legislature, and most sacredly to be applied to the support of every poor disabled soldier and soldier's widow, and for the support and education of every soldier's orphan. (Cheers.) Another thing, I would select in the cemetery of your county seat—a beautiful piece of ground, which I would ornament with gravel walks and shade trees, and erect in the centre a beautiful monument of marble or granite, on which I would record in plain letters the name, with the number of his company and regiment, and the place and date of his death of every officer and private of Kane County who had died a glorious martyr to his country." (Cheers.)

Log Cabin in Kentucky—School and College.

All of you in this kindly and generous audience here today have of course noticed that I have deemed it best to insert (out of order chronologically) immediately after introductory remarks, the section of this paper entitled the "Soldiers Friend." This I have done because if only one thing could be mentioned, it would be his wish that this be the thing mentioned. But I have now arrived at the point where I can follow natural divisions.

This particular life is naturally divided into the following periods:

1. The Log Cabin in Kentucky, and the district school there; followed by the student days at Miami, University at Oxford, Ohio; the years at Illinois College at Jacksonville and the period of application at the law department of the Transylvania University at Lexington, Kentucky; that is, the period from Log Cabin to admission to the Supreme Court of Illinois.
2. The Bar and the Stump, ending 1855.
3. The service as Representative at Springfield, ending 1850.
4. The service as Representative at Washington, ending 1855.
5. The service as President of the Tonica and Petersburg Railroad ending 1860.
6. The service as Governor, ending 1865.
7. The service as Senator ending 1871.
8. The Home life with its happiness and its bereavements, ending 1873, age 58.

If I succeed (in the twenty-five minutes remaining) in talking to you five minutes, covering the experiences as Representative; five minutes as to his service as United States Senator; and five minutes as to his service as Railroad president and advocate of good roads, it will leave me five minutes to describe his activities as Governor including the Cairo Expedition; the Proroguing of the Legislature; the Discovery of Grant and only five minutes to portray his devoted friendship with Lincoln and his other friendships, and his last two years, which were the happiest of his life, at his home.

I address myself, then, to beginning this impossible task, soliciting your sympathy, for the reason that (while it would be hard for any one to be such a master of condensation as to be able to summarize these events (which were so momentous) in an address occupying minutes that are so few) it is an additional ordeal for the son of a man to do this thing. To me his life has always seemed so *wonderful* that the principal features of it have always *loomed* big in my mind. They were *indeed* big, and worthy of notice; and their bigness could doubtless be described by others. But I cherish the desire, (from the bottom of my heart) to have *you* look at it all, as *I* look at it, rather than to depend upon a summary, prepared by some one (much more competent professionally to do it) but without that sentiment and emotion ,which must be mine, as I realize that I am the only man now living who knew him as well as I did.

If I can only succeed in bringing before you the walking and talking, living and loving man, I will feel that it was well worth the risk of being misunderstood by you. I know well that these words do not give expression to the craving, which I have. That craving is to present certain features with modesty (and without eulogy except from the utterances of editors and orators and other leaders) and (at the same time) do justice; and leave (in your minds) the conception, which he deserves.

The green hills of Kentucky bound the horizon for twelve years from 1818 to 1830. Exactly at the point where the main street, coming up from the south bank of the Ohio River, enters the public square of a serene little town, stands the log cabin, in which this life was lived for twelve years from 1818 to 1830.

It is different in appearance now but when I last saw it some of the original logs were there. It had a window on the west and a door on the south, looking toward the old court house of old Gallatan County. The name of the town is Warsaw but it was originally called Frederick, having been laid out in 1788 by Henry Yates, father of Richard. It was about the time that the great Frederick of Prussia and the immortal Washington of America were exchanging compliments and letters. Frederick was a popular name and so the town bore that name for years. Later came the change to Warsaw.

Two miles to the south in a corn field, is a little cemetery, about forty feet square, in which is a slab of marble, bearing the inscription, "sacred to the memory of Millicent Yates, who died April 30, 1830, wife of Henry Yates, Justice of the Peace of Kentucky." One standing by this little slab, must notice that the little grave yard is not in the middle of a great corn field; but at the southern extremity; and that.

from it there is a slope to the east and south and west, running gradually down to a rivulet, describing a half circle; while beyond the rivulet, filling all the east and south and west, is a magnificent amphitheatre of hills clad in ever-living green.

How natural that whenever the boy spoke of Kentucky, he would speak of the green hills of Kentuccky. How natural that when as late as 1860 he was warned that a thousand men in his audience had come over from Kentucky to break up his meeting—how natural that he should open his remarks with the sentence—"I look across the blue waters of the Ohio and upon the green hills of Kentucky and there I see my mother's grave." How natural that when 1904 rolled around and the great Greek temple of white marble at Vicksburg was approaching completion one of the inscriptions on that beautiful memorial of the valor of Illinois reads to-day "God forbid that I should say ought against the South, for I look across the blue waters of the Ohio and upon the green hills of Kentucky and then I see my mother's grave." Long may it stand there between Lincoln's slogan With malice towards none and charity for all" and Grant's invocation "Let us have peace."

There are no records of the boyhood life from 1818 to 1830 except the fact that he was a student at a college in Ohio in the city of Oxford, called Miami College, to which institution he was sent by his father, Henry Yates, the founder of Warsaw—"The Justice of the Peace of Kentucky." Be it said to the credit (and the memory) of this "Justice of the Peace of Kentucky" that he gave this boy education—just as much as he could.

The year 1831 saw the whole family transferred to Sangamon County and there Henry Yates lived on until 1865, dying at the good old age of eighty, leaving ten sons and daughters and many broad acres near Berlin; and two spots below the Ohio dedicated forever to freedom (and America) by the warm crimson flood of the young red blood of two of Henry's sons.

In 1832 the doors of the little old college at Jacksonville, called the Illinois College, received this student as a freshman and in 1833 he was a sophomore and 1834 a junior and 1835 was the recipient of the first graduating diploma issued by that school,—from which school influences have radiated, which have done infinite good, during all the eighty-eight years since.

In the year 1834 he delivered the Junior oration, of which I quote two paragraphs, as follows:

"Shall not Illinois have her historians, who shall record the valor and achievement of her sons? Her poets, who shall sing the glory, grandeur and beauty of the West? Her orators whose magic voice would move and electrify the nation? We are led to inquire who knows but that there may be among them some Clay, before whose mighty genius the mists of delusion have fled with terrific haste, some Washington in whose breast the destinies of nations might be dormant, some Milton, "pregnant with celestial fire," some Curran, who when thrones were crumbling and dynasties forgotten, might, "stand the landmark of his country's genius, a mental pyramid in the solitude of time, round whose summit eternity must play."

"We live in a State which must excite a spirit of restless unsatisfied perseverance, engender the liveliest emotions, and enkindle the most glorious anticipations.

We behold the dawn of that day when an almost countless population will overspread our prairies. Youth of Illinois, do you wish that your posterity shall look back upon the present era with admiration, as the founders of that glory destined to encircle our beloved state?

Do you wish to add another strong link to this grand confederation—to promote the cause of human liberty, and universal emancipation from the shackles of despotism.

Do you wish to see (through your undying example) the standard of liberty planted upon every shore."

THEN ACT WORTHY OF OUR HIGH VOCATION."

These paragraphs were written and declaimed in 1834 only sixteen years after our state was admitted to the Union, and they were written by an Illinois boy of seventeen!

And that Illinois boy was my father!

On July 4, 1836, he delivered an oration at Jacksonville, which, like the senior oration and the junior oration, seems very mature. This address concluded with the following words:

"But while we dwell on the proud recollections and glorious anticipations, which this day is so calculated to excite, shall we forget our own brave and patriotic fellow-citizens, who have left their homes and country, to risk their lives and fortunes in defense of a people fighting to be free?"

Cold indeed must be the American heart that does not turn with anxiety to struggling Texas. Brave and gallant defenders of liberty! * * * We see and appreciate your sufferings. We catch with rapture the soul-thrilling news of your triumphs, and dwell with admiration upon your gallant conduct. * * * We hail with delight the day of your emancipation. * * * Anxious are we to extend to you our congenial sympathies and to admit you into the great brotherhood of republics. Let the spirit of your fathers burn in your bosoms. * * * Let the blood of your fallen, martyred heroes, nerve your arms, with renovated power, and fire your hearts, with redoubled zeal. Let the germ of liberty planted deep in your native soil, rear its towering branches to the skies, and despots learn the unerring truth that "It is easier to hurl the rooted mountains from its base, than place the yoke of slavery on men, determined to be free." * * *

His age at this time was eighteen years and six months.

On the fourth day of July, 1837, the year after his graduation, he delivered another elaborate oration at Naples, Illinois, which included a declaration of the profound conviction which followed him through life that this American Republic is the heir of the ages and the child of the centuries and therefore the beacon light of liberty and the last hope of humanity. We cannot guess how he would feel today concerning immigration. In the day of his greatest activities he seemed to feel that it would be right for all the down-trodden and

oppressed of the earth to come to this land and that our nation could assimilate them all.

"We hail with delight the glorious day. Enjoying as we do, all the blessings of freedom, unworthy would we be of our noble birthright, if we should attempt to secure them to ourselves alone, and prove unmindful of the wants and sufferings of other nations. Thank God. No such exhibition of sordid selfishness has ever yet darkened our country's historic page. * * * Never yet has freedom's cannon roared on any shore without a responsive echo from this "land of the free and this home of the brave." * * *

"When her clarion voice was sounded by a Bolivar from the South; when it rang along the orange bowers of Greece, and burst from the vine-clad hills and sun bright vales of France, it was answered by a sympathetic peal from Columbia's hills; and when Poland, ill-fated Poland, determined to be free, with what soul thrilling interest did we view the struggle."

His age at this time was nineteen years and six months.

On the 14th. day of October, 1838, age 20, he delivered an address at Jacksonville before the Jacksonville Mechanics Union, his age then being twenty years and nine months—still not a voter. In this address he closed with the following paragraph:

"Then, Gentlemen of the Mechanics' Union, go on with the work you have begun, let not your high energies relax, but as patriots, as you love your country, *go on in the pursuit of knowledge.* Emblazoned on your flag is the motto "honor alit artes." Then prepare to advance the interests and welfare and liberty of your country.

It is the country that smiles on industry, protects and fosters it. It is the land of Green, Morgan, Sherman, Franklin and Washington. Long may her eagle soar aloft in the majesty of freedom, and oh! if in the magazines of high heaven there is one single bolt of thunder more terrific, or a streak of lightning more fiery than the rest, let it light with uncommon fury on the wretch, who would erase a single stripe or blot a single star from the hallowed flag of our union."

The Bar and the Stump.

In 1837 he became a partner in the practice of the law with Josiah Lamborn; in 1840 with Wilkinson; in 1842 with James Berdan; and in 1844 with William Brown, who was his partner as late as 1850. A copy of the old Morgan Journal, 1847, a duplicate of which is not to be found in Illinois today, contains an advertisement of Brown and Yates, Attorneys at Law, in the same column with such professional men as Henry E. Dummer and James Berdan and Henry McClure and William Thomas and Hardin and Smith. No date appears on the fragment, which I possess, but it is full of letters and items from the front in the very middle of the Mexican War.

To this period belongs all his early progress at the bar. The law business began in 1837; was prosecuted diligently until 1855, when he became the president of the Tonica and Petersburg Railroad Company—the forerunner of the Chicago and Alton—the railroad which

brought Chicago and Alton to Morgan and Sangamon Counties. After accepting the presidency he tried no more law suits, so his legal effort was from 1837 to 1855.

As evidence of the fact that during that time he applied himself, there are here inserted some phrases from an address delivered by him as Special State's Attorney before the Grand Jury of Scott Circuit Court, Winchester, October 16, 1837—86 years ago today.

The Stump.

His work on the stump must be mentioned.

In the Jacksonville Journal occurs the following concerning a meeting at Waverly:

"We have never seen an audience hang (more intensely) on the utterances of any man than in this instance. Each and every word seemed to be drunk in (by the deeply interested multitude). There is indeed a magnetism in the very person of Dick Yates, and he does not speak ten minutes, till the speaker and his audience (like man and wife) are one. No one leaves when he speaks; but all are still as death, until the silence is relieved *by tears* as the speaker touches upon the sorrows of the suffering brave, or by *laughter* as he illustrates his idea by some well told anecdote.

The face of every man lighted up as he was made to feel that he belonged to a party whose principles were derived from Christianity, and whose foundations were laid deep and strong in the good sense of the people, and whose triumphs were those of religion, justice, mercy, humanity and wisdom, liberty and national progress.**

No reporter could do justice—it was the manner as well as matter of the speaker which touched, and stirred the hearts of the thousands of men and women present.

Goodness and *love* beamed from the face of the orator, as, with masterly skill *and grandest eloquence,* he moved the hearts and minds of his hearers. * * * *

***Every eye was bathed in tears, when he came to speak of the glorious dead, and of the martyred Lincoln. As he closed this part of his speech (with the invocation, "God forever bless our boys in blue, God Almighty bless the immortal memory of Abraham Lincoln") *the stillness as of death reigned throughout the vast audience*—and we *almost trembled at the power of this man before the people. Such love* we never *saw* for a man *before.* * * * *

Yates, at Waverly, was in his element among the friends and neighbors who had voted and worked for him for the Legislature many times, for Congress three times, and for Governor, and the Senate. They all called him "Dick" and it was plain to see that his heart was deeply affected by their kindness and affection. Not the least consideration which seems to have given Senator Yates his hold upon the people is his constancy to his friends." * * * *

On October 20, 1854, the "Illinois Journal" had a leading editorial saying:

"The heat and passion of sectional strife are upon us. * * * and we need candor, argument, forbearance and manly eloquence. * * * calmness, coolness, caution and bravery are needed in Congress.

* * * when the South is so bold, * * * to possess other qualities is but to touch the torch to the powder keg. He, Yates, was raised among us Illinoisans and with our Illinois boys and girls, by Kentucky parents among Kentucky kindred and is now 35, and every sentiment of his head and heart and soul moves with generosity, charity, coolness, bravery, prudence and caution and manliness. He is just and generous. There is a South Western bravery and eloquence about the young man which the South admire. He possesses the power to disarm the hatred of that section and so do more for the Union." * * *

Col. Clark E. Carr of Galesburg, a Colonel on his staff wrote to the Press:

"His thrilling eloquence, genial manners, handsome, erect and symmetrical person, winning address and magnetic power, won for him the admiration of all.

His great ambition was to deserve the title of "The Soldiers Friend" and his clarion voice gave no uncertain sound when the cause of the soldier or of the soldier's family was being pleaded.

His proclamations calling for volunteers were impassioned appeals brim full of patriotism and boiling over with resistless enthusiasm.

And his special messages to the Legislature of the State, pleading for material aid for the sick and wounded soldiers of Illinois' regiments, are simply matchless in their eloquence and manifest a depth of feeling and noble sentiment unequalled by any state papers in the history of the nation.

It seems to me that there *never was such burning eloquence* as his, when addressing the people of Illinois, in behalf of the soldier. You remember he was a very Apollo in form and feature. One could say in all sincerity, "See what a grace is seated on his brow: Hyperion's curls, the front of Jove himself."

In 1842 he engaged extensively in the Whig campaign and *there made one of the early declarations,* which he consistently followed all the days of his life *in praise of Henry Clay.*

Speaking of Clay he said in December, 1842, at a mass meeting given to citizens of Sangamon County on the election of John J. Hardin of Morgan County to Congress "Shall the treachery of a Tyler dishearten free men, rather let it arouse the blood of patriotic men more for him who for years has been the persecuted, yet, unanswerable and "the triumphant advocate of our principles—through whose veins no treachery ever coursed—Kentucky's noble son—our country's hope—the great; the good—the illustrious Clay."

The devotion to Clay continued, as I have said, through life; and when he died he left among his pictures framed, and guarded with jealous care, one—the likeness of Patrick Henry and the other, the likeness of Henry Clay. I have these two pictures yet, and I have not added to them, in my library.

I venture to insert in this manuscript here to-day a reference as to his person. This is done advisedly and for a real purpose. If you were going to make the acquaintance of a man or to learn from others the real things in his life, one of the first things you would want to

know would be his personal appearance or the effect (or to use modern language the reaction) following the contact.

The fact that the relations which I sustain prohibit me from indulging in words of eulogy or compliment compel me to resort to the words of others, in order to present some conception of the living man —the walking and talking—the living and loving man.

His most intimate friend in all the world was probably William Pitt Kellogg, Judge and Colonel under Lincoln, twice Governor and twice Senator from Louisiana. Kellogg says "Yates was striking in appearance with bright auburn hair and bright blue eyes;" John Moses, for years private Secretary, says his manners were attractive as those of a woman bent on conquest;" Clark E. Carr, a Colonel on his staff, said in a speech at Jacksonville, "he was an apollo in form and figure" and in the same connection said that "no political evangelist or exhorter ever appeared in discussion more utterly absorbed and consecrated—that he was tempestuous and tumultuous in his actions. General John A. McClernand said that " he dwelt forever upon an elevation."

I remember particularly his appearance during the period of rest and home from 1871 to 1873, although the only time I can remember was as he stood one night in 1868 on the south porch of his own home and addressed an audience composed of a solid acre of men, bearing torches—the torches of the "Tanners" of that year. There was on that occasion nothing of the tempestuous or tumultuous, no ranting or raging—if I were compelled to describe it, I would say, for want of better words, that his appearance was oratorical—just oratorical, while his voice was sonorous. Thos. S. Ridgway (at Shawneetown) once said to me "God gave him his voice—it rang like a bugle call."

In reference to his personal appearance the Washington Correspondent of the Morning Herald at St. Joseph, Missouri, said April 20, 1866, "Just behind Mr. Sherman sits the war Governor of Illinois, Richard Yates, who has just entered the Senate. He is forty-eight years old, a good-sized, healthy, rotund man, with a full, smooth face and florid complexion. He is slightly stooping, has an easy, unconcerned air, is evidently fond of good living and agreeable society. Yet he had a great deal of latent force and nerve. As Governor he endeared himself to every soldier from the west while he won a brilliant national reputation for ability and patriotism. He is a radical, and may always be counted among the steadfast enemies of treason and oppression."

A daily State Journal of Milwaukee, Wisconsin ,in reporting a rally on the 4th day of July, 1863 said "Governor Yates of Illinois had arrived at this time and commenced in one of the most telling and entertaining speeches that we ever listened to. The Governor was thoroughly eloquent and held his audience in spell-bound interest from the beginning to the end, which was over an hour in duration. The Governor has the appearance of being about 45 or 50 years of age. His hair is rather long, curling and waving considerable and his face, which is grave and massive expresses an iron will and unyielding energy.

Representative at Springfield.

We now come to the period of 1841 to 1850, which I think may be called the period of State service *per se*. In the summer of 1841, he began running for the Legislature and was elected in November, 1842. Four members were elected from Morgan County and he was the only Whig—the others were all Democrats and their names were Newton Cloud, David Epler, William Weatherford, while the State Senators were Edward D. Baker and Reuben Harrison.

He enjoyed immensely this service. He was entirely satisfied with the accommodations of the day, which included a room, without a carpet, in a Springfield tavern.

He was re-elected in 1844 his Morgan County colleagues being Francis Arenz, Samuel T. Matthews and Isaac D. Rawlings; and again for the term beginning January 1, 1849 and ending January 1, 1851. His Morgan County colleague being George B. Waller. (As stated elsewhere he was nominated and elected representative in Congress from Illinois in 1850, so that his duties as member of the Legislature did not require much of his efforts after July 1, 1850.) And he began to think and act with reference to the nation. In the six years in which he served he met and came to know well not only Abraham Lincoln but many many leaders including Douglas and Baker and Palmer and Oglesby and McClernand and Weldon and Herndon and Stephen T. Logan and Milton Hay.

Thirteenth General Assembly, 1842-1844, Convened at Springfield, December 5, 1842; adjourned March 3, 1843. Senator from Morgan, John Henry; Senators from Sangamon, Edward D. Baker, Reuben Harrison. Representatives from Morgan, Newton Cloud, David Epler, William Weatherford, Richard Yates.

Fourteenth General Assembly, 1844-1846. Convened at Springfield, December 2, 1844; adjourned March 3, 1845. Senator from Morgan, John Henry; Senator from Sangamon, Ninian W. Edwards. Representatives from Morgan, Francis Arenz, Samuel T. Matthews, Isaac D. Rawlings, Richard Yates; Representatives from Sangamon, Job Fletcher, Stephen T. Logan, Joseph Smith.

Fifteenth General Assembly: (Yates out of office; at home.)

Sixteenth General Assembly, 1848-1850. Convened at Springfield, January 1, 1849; adjourned February 12. Convened October 22, 1849; adjourned November 7, 1849. Senator from Morgan, Newton Cloud; Senator from Sangamon, John T. Stuart. Representatives from Morgan, George B. Waller, Richard Yates.

During the term beginning January 1, 1843, he delivered certain remarks in the House of Representatives, which he endorsed or labeled as in defense of Governor Duncan. The principal paragraph of this argument was as follows:

"The gentleman from Hancock, had, a few days ago, spoken disrespectfully of the lamented Governor Duncan, and he again threatened today, to use his own language," to dig up the ashes of another Joe." Sir, he should be wholly unworthy of the people, whom it was his pride, to represent, if he permitted such allusions to pass by in silence—the hand of death had severed the connection between Governor Duncan and the members of the House, but he still lived in the affections

and remembrance of all who knew him. Both political parties, in the place where he resided had lately met around his grave, and there shed common tears over his remains. Sir, there was no party there, but it was the tribute of men, who above all such considerations, were ready to acknowledge his exalted worth.

And, sir, what was Governor Duncan's crime? The only crime was in contending years ago that this charter should be repealed. He was the pioneer in opposition to this grant of exclusive and unheard of privileges to the Mormons. With the eye of a statesman he looked ahead, and predicted the consequences which would result from such a charter, and have not those predictions been realized?

Concerning pay of members of the Legislature he said one day:

"He would not prolong his remarks so much, but for the reason that great and radical retrenchment was necessary and that here was the proper place to begin; and he believed if it was omitted here, it would be omitted everywhere.

For with what reason could we insist upon curtailing the expenses in other branches of the public service, while with the grasp of misers, we hang on to our own present pay?

Sir, admit that in curtailing our salaries, we may not receive as much as we could wish. He held it to be the duty not only of every member of the legislature but of every citizen of the State, to be ready to sacrifice some little of his personal interests for the credit and character of the State.

He was prepared to peril, if necessary, all that he had, to avert the disgrace which repudiation would fasten upon our State. It had gone out to the world that she was bankrupt, that she never could pay her honest debts. He did not believe it. She could do it. Illinoisans would never leave to their children an inheritance of dishonor."

In 1845 he delivered an argument in the House of Representatives in support of an Act to pay a portion of the interest on the public debt. It is evident that he knew that he was advocating the unpopular side for he speaks of being denounced by friends and asks the question, "Who, sir, I ask for fear of temporary unpopularity will hesitate to stand by the honor and interest of his state?" This sentence occurs in a paragraph reading as follows:

"And in proposing taxation I have done it deliberately—I have considered the condition of the people. I have considered, that the calamities which have befallen them were not so much the result of their own imprudence as that of their public servants; that the State was carried away in that whirlpool of excitement, which laid prostrate the commerce of the world.

I have considered the scarcity of money, the low prices of produce, and that disease and pestilence, flood and desolation have swept over the State; and yet have deemed it my duty to propose this tax.

I know that I may be denounced by friends, and receive unrelenting opposition from political opponents. I may be denounced by demagogue clamor, and be overpowered by it. But, sir, if in coming up to the honest mark, popular disapprobation shall frown me down, be it so; it is only me; not my adopted State around which all my affections

cluster, and for which I covet a career of glory, a brightness of destiny, which the wave of time cannot wash away.

Who, sir, I ask, for fear of temporary unpopularity will hesitate to stand by the honor and interest of his State? Who is not ready to peril some little of private gain or political ambition upon the altar of patriotism? The just course, is the most expedient, and though unpopular for the time, will ultimately triumph. This is as sure as that "truth is omnipotent and public justice certain."

EDUCATION.

And listen to this:

Washington, D. C., March 2, 1868.

Dear Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge your kind invitation, to attend the inauguration ceremonies upon the opening of the Illinois Industrial University.

With much regret I am compelled to forego the great pleasure which it would afford me, to be with you on an occasion of so much interest.

The extraordinary condition of public affairs, compels me to remain here and the continued demands upon my time and strength, must be my excuse for not writing at greater length.

My appreciation of the vast interests involved in a successful administration of the affairs of the University, demands a more particular statement of the origin, history, objects and prospects, than I can find time to write.

My great hope is that this institution shall prove the crowning achievement of this age, among all the grand works in behalf of popular education, which illustrate the splendid history of our state.

And that, to the latest generation, our young men shall have cause to bless the wise forethought, of the men of this age, who have, amidst gigantic war, not only vindicated the free institutions and ideas of self government, but also founded this splendid nursery of free men and enlightened patriotism.

An educated man may become unpatriotic; a patriot may become perverted through ignorance; but wisdom and patriotism, hand in hand, are invincible.

Enlightened patriotism is the steadfast *palladium* of human liberty.

May the institution over which you are called to preside, be enabled to illustrate and enforce the vital truth, through all the years of glorious and prosperous peace, which await our State and Nation, is the sincere wish of

Illinois' Grateful Son, Richard Yates.

Honorable J. M. Gregory,
Champaign, Illinois.

On the 4th day of June, 1869, the Daily Journal of Jacksonville, Illinois, Chapin and Glover, proprietors, had an editorial mentioning representative Yates, reading as follows:

"As the subject of re-building the blind asylum is just at the present time exciting much interest, we republish this morning a speech

delivered by Senator Yates years ago, before the asylum was first built. Judge Thomas wrote the original bill and Mr. Yates put it through the legislature, thus securing to the state a noble charity which has repaid a thousand times the original investment.

In all his service as representative at Springfield he was the devoted friend and the ardent advocate of education—just as in after years when Governor, his "slogan" was: "An intelligent people *will be free.*"

The University at Urbana had no better friend; as Professor J. B. Turner would surely testify if he were here.

Representative at Washington.

What of the experience in the Lower House of Congress?

The most important speech was possibly the one delivered on the *28th of February, 1855*—four days before the adjournment of Congress in that exciting year—in that exciting spring. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise was so strongly advocated by Douglas that it induced a number of conservative *Whigs* to think that the *repeal* ought to be permitted to go through without a *fight.* Yates, *like Palmer,* fought that repeal—fought it with all his might; and when the election of November, 1854 came, he underwent the indescribable humiliation of being deserted by some of his foremost friends. It almost caused the iron to enter his soul when a number of his neighbors, associated with him at the bar, or in the church, or in the party, or in the college at Jacksonville voted against him—voted for his opponent Major Harris, who was in favor of the repeal. You can imagine his feelings when on this night of the *28th of February, 1855,* (when nearing the close of his argument of nearly 15000 words) a Mr. Keith interrupted saying "I do not wish to be unkind, to the gentleman from Illinois, but was he not an anti-Nebraska candidate, at the last election, *and defeated?*" In answer he said:

I thank the gentleman for the question, and I reply, I *was* a candidate, and *was* defeated. But, sir, my district is largely against me in politics. It gave General Pierce nearly twelve hundred majority, while I only was defeated by the meager majority of two hundred votes; and those conversant with the facts, I believe, would inform you, that but for local divisions in two of the counties in my district, I should have been returned here by a handsome majority." * * *

"The earliest impressions of my boyhood were that the institution of slavery was a grievous wrong; and with riper years that sentiment has become a conviction deep and abiding, and I should not be true to myself did I not oppose this institution, whenever I can do so, consistently, with the Constitution of my country. *And here upon these declarations, now in these the last days of my congressional career, I plant myself,* and *shall abide the issue.* And, sir, I have no fears for the future—in the clouds of the present I see "the brightness of the future." This sentiment of opposition to slavery is a growing, a rising sentiment; it is the sentiment of the Declaration of American Independence, and it will stand *bold, dominant, defiant, and rising* and *FLAMING* higher and higher, as long as that proud charter of American liberty shall endure, or freedom find a home in the human heart."

Mr. Chairman, I am no statesman. I arrogate no such claim; but were I called upon to point out a public policy for my country, I should adopt, as great cardinal principles:

1. No interference by Congress with slavery in the States.
2. No further extension of the area of slavery.
3. No more slave states.
4. The abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and wherever else it can be constitutionally done.
5. The rights of trial by jury and habeas corpus in all cases, and in the State where the arrest is made, as well as in the State from which the escape is made.
6. A home on the public domain for every landless American citizen, American or foreign-born, upon condition of actual settlement and cultivation for a limited period.
7. The improvement of the harbors of our lakes and the navigation of our rivers by appropriations from the Federal Treasury.
8. A tariff for revenue, with incidental protection, and specific duties, discriminating in favor of articles the growth and manufacture of our own country.
9. Liberal donations of the public lands for the construction of railroads, securing to the Government the full price for the same by reserving alternate sections and doubling the price therefor.
10. A more just and humane policy towards the Indian tribes, surrounding them with the influences of Christianity and civilization.
11. The encouragement by liberal appropriations from the Treasury, and donations of public lands for agriculture, the mechanic arts, and sciences.

These, sir, are the leading features of a public policy, which would speedily crown our nation with prosperity and glory, far transcending every people of ancient and modern time.

In a note book of the campaign for Congress against Major Harris, I find this in writing:

"In my course in Congress I trust I have been as mindful of my Democratic as of my Whig friends. In that course, I have never looked to party but to the high interests of my District and the prosperity of our common country—I have no boast to make of what I have done except, that I have done, as far as I knew how, my duty; and that is all any man can do. *And now,* whether you shall again give me your high commission, to represent you in Congress, or not, I shall cheerfully abide your decision—*whether my* humble *little* flag shall float aloft in the sunshine of victory or shall be "dimly seen" amid the clouds of disaster and defeat, I shall not fail to carry with me to my last breath *the warm recollection of your generous partiality and unfaltering friendship.* If I am defeated, *I have an humble little home in your midst;* and I will share with you the blessings of peace and retirement—if again triumphant, I will go upon my mission, resolved to do my duty; and not to forfeit the high confidence you have reposed in me."

Good Roads.

In 1854—sixty years before Illinois really realized the full importance of good roads and thoroughfares, in 1854, according to the

"Congressional Globe"—he fought for Illinois public improvement appropriations saying:

"I repeat that we ought to have a million appropriated for the improvement of these rivers—the Mississippi, Ohio, Missouri and Illinois—the Arkansas, Tennessee, Red and Cumberland—I only propose by this amendment to appropriate half a million * * * *I am in favor of the construction of internal improvements* by the general government, when such improvements are proposed to be constructed upon a proper principle. * * * Vote it down, if you please—*vote against our Western rivers and harbors—but the time will come when we shall have the power to resist such oppression and partial legislation.* There is a majority of this *committee of the whole* in favor of this *very* appropriation of half a million dollars but the voice of the committee is smothered, by the determination of gentlemen to vote against all amendments right or wrong. * * * I, sir, should like to see their names on the record.

Governor Small, in this man Yates you would have found a kindred spirit in your *passion* for "good roads and transportation."

Railroad President.

Probably the happiest period of his life (except the home period of two years preceding the end) was the experience he enjoyed as President of a railroad—the little old "Tonica and Petersburg" Railroad. From his junior year in college (as all his writings show), he had an abiding belief that stage *lines and canals* and *steamboat lines and railroads*—in fact *good roads* of all kinds—would help the commonwealth and make the state great. (In this man, from 1841 to 1871,—thirty years—in other words from his first thought of public weal to his last year in the general welfare—you, Governor Small, would have found a kindred spirit). He never thought of the knowledge of science (which from his college days he urged as vital) without thinking of roads—hard roads and steam roads; by 1851 this had become a consuming obsession or hobby—an overweening ambition. It became known among his friends that he would rather be connected with a railroad than with any other enterprise. Accordingly when he came home March 4, 1855 (after four years service as Congressman and after having lost his seat in the preceding election by the narrow plurality of 195) he was immediately asked to become the president of a new railroad—the Tonica and Petersburg, which ultimately got its charter from the State of Illinois, January 15, 1857. He told his wife that this was the happiest experience in his life. It was necessary to go to Pittsburg to buy the iron—not steel, but iron—and the rails were shipped down the Ohio by steamboat and up the Mississippi and up the Illinois and landed at Naples, from which point they were hauled over land. He enjoyed it all. * * * The panic year of 1857 paralyzed industry and strangled industrial prosperity all over the land; but he went ahead with his construction. I have the manuscripts of his reports to his stockholders. He was almost sweating blood in his anxiety; but his optimism never failed. His report shows that the little railroad had obligations of about $550,000 but that in spite of the panic year 1857 it had paid its interest and had paid off about $5,000 out of its total obligations. The railroad was not in debt. He said,

"While other projects of a similar character have built their roadbed principally on debt—by issuing first mortgage bonds and by making heavy discounts and sacrifices upon them; we are prepared to show a large portion of the same work done and paid for, and entire ability to construct the whole of our roadbed without the creation of a single debt or liability of any kind. With our roadbed complete and a surplus to advance upon our iron, the amount of debt to be contracted for iron and equipment in comparison with that of most similar enterprises will be comparatively small, and the prompt payment of the interest on the same within the certain compass of the company's means and receipts."

He found it necessary to go out and address the people to induce them to vote railroad improvement aid bonds. It was necessary apparently to prove that a railroad would be a good thing and would not destroy the horse market. To cut a long, long story short it was a grand success and had sixteen locomotives!

He told me (in the one long conversation I had with him a month before his death) that his was "the only railroad that he knew of that paid two hundred cents to every widow and orphan who put one dollar ($1.00) into the railroad." It was the forerunner of the Chicago and Alton Railroad Company.

Service as Governor.

The Chicago Tribune said, in 1860, immediately after the November election:

"The Republican candidate for Governor, Hon. Richard Yates, is elected by a majority of which he may well be proud. But he has *earned* every vote. Commencing his canvass early, answering the calls of the party whenever made, speaking day after day for months together, he had a *right* to expect success. He has attained it.' And we have no reason to doubt that the same wisdom which dedicated his admirable speeches to the people of the State, will guide him in the discharge of the duties which he will soon assume. His career as a State Legislator and as a member of Congress (had he not made the brilliant and successful canvass) would have been a sufficient guaranty, that his administration will be equally honorable to himself and profitable to the State."

The Jacksonville Journal said:

"The Tribune's complimentary notice of the Governor is well deserved. It is true that he may well be proud of his majority; the people of this county are both proud of the majority and of the man himself. Mr. Yates has worked with extraordinary energy, and brilliant success, throughout the whole campaign; and, what is most gratifying to his friends who know him intimately, is, that the *animating motive* with him has not been any vain *personal* ambition but a whole-hearted *devotion* to the cause. * * * It is true he was defeated in 1854 on this principle, and it is quite reasonable to suppose that he should have some personal ambition to redeem that defeat. But we know that his first thought, desire and aim in this canvas has not been personal, but for the triumph of the principle. We do not doubt that Mr. Yates, were he to consult his own individual preference, would

turn from the cares and honors which will cluster around his official station, and seek the quiet enjoyments of a private station and his beautiful home, free from the importunities of office holders and other "friends," as well as the misrepresentations of political enemies."

Of course, reference to the Governorship, in Illinois from 1861 to 1865 would be incomplete without a reference to three things: namely, the "Proroguing of the Legislature" and "Cairo Expedition" and the "Discovery of Ulysses S. Grant."

The Cairo Expedition.

The Cairo Expedition was simply the prompt moving to Cairo of a body of Illinois State Militia, between 600 and 700 strong (on paper 905 strong), commanded by Brigadier General Swift, of Illinois, the whole enterprise being by the direct order of War Governor Yates. Had not Cairo been occupied at this early date, April 20, 1861, by Illinois troops, the soldiers of the South would have occupied that strategic point within a very few days; and upon its being threatened from the North, Confederate troops (in full force) would have been rushed in; and it would have taken thousands of Illinois lives, to dislodge them. Throughout the whole Civil War, there was no single spot more useful and used, by the Union, than Cairo. Had we been deprived of it, the damage and loss would have been incalculable. The Cairo Expedition therefore, is worthy of extensive mention, entirely too extensive to be included in this Manuscript. To this more extensive mention we therefore leave it.

The Prorogation of the Legislature.

The Prorogation of the Legislature, June 9, 1863, was a matter unprecedented in American History; and unimitated except when War Governor Oliver P. Morton prorogued the Legislature of Indiana. It would require a separate volume (in the Illinois State Historical Library) to print all the things *germane* to *this* thing. Accordingly I refrain from inserting here the remarks of any Illinois paper (for or against the Governor) and content myself with reading an editorial from the New York Daily Tribune of Friday, June 12, 1863.

"On the 8th inst. the Senate of Illinois, by a vote of 14 to 7, resolved to adjourn without day at 6 that evening. The House overruled this by substituting for the 8th the 22d inst. The resolve, thus amended, was returned to the Senate, which disagreed to the amendment—12 to 11. In this deadlock, they adjourned for the night. Now the State Constitution expressly provides:

Sec. 13. In case of disagreement between the two Houses with respect to the time of adjournment, the Governor shall have power to adjourn the General Assembly to such time as he may think proper, *provided* it be not to a period beyond the next Constitutional meeting of the same.

"Governor Yates, hereupon, next morning, adjourned the Legislature without day."

Here the "Tribune" copies a N. Y. "World" criticism:

"It seems unaccountable "(replies the New York Tribune) that any person, who can write intelligible English, should not realize the absurdity and inevitable falsity of the foregoing. Louis Napoleon's

coup d'etat was effected by a military insurrection, whereby the *law was overpowered* by sheer force. Gov. Yate's act derives all its efficacy from the *Constitutional* provision above given. It is *valid* because it is *legal* and only to the extent of its legality."

"Had it been *what* the World *sillily* imagines, the Legislature would have simply laughed at it, and proceeded with its deliberations."

Altho the whole army seems to have talked about this prorogation, it seems that he talked about it very little himself.

I find that in a speech made at Elgin on the 4th day of July, 1865, he did laughingly mention it as follows; "Instead of four years of easy, dignified leisure, signing the commissions of Justices of the Peace and Notaries Public, as a Governor may be supposed to do; my time for the last four years has been absorbed in conference with and correspondence with the government at Washington, and with the officers and soldiers, and in anxious thought for their success and interests, and for their welfare; doing all I could in my feeble way to relieve the wants of the soldiers, and for a vigorous prosecution of the war, and, (though I have not been in the thickest of the fray, as you have been) while you have been driving the enemy in front, I have kept up a deadly and destructive fire upon the enemy in the rear."

"Soldiers, peace hath her victories as well as war. You must remember that I was Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy of Illinois! Well, in the month of June, 1863, I heard that a large detachment, of the enemy, had taken possession and fortified themselves in the State House at Springfield—(Of course, he meant the disloyal part of the majority of the Legislature)—and (after declaring that they were for peace—that the war was unrighteous, unholy, etc.—and the south could not be conquered) they resolved to usurp the powers of their commander-in-chief, and to run the government upon the style and manner of the rebel states. I sent out a party of reconnoisance; called my staff, Lieutenant General Hoffman (really Lieutenant Governor); Adjutant General Fuller, Colonel "Uncle Jesse" (Dubois) really State Auditor, Adjutants O. M. Hatch and Wm. Butler and O. H. Miner, and quartermaster Colonel S. S. Mann, and military correspondent Colonel Joe Forrest; and (after mature deliberation) resolved to attack the enemy in his stronghold, and put them to rout or die in the last ditch! I then went to work and prepared a deadly missive, which Ike Cook called a "perouge" and as soon as it was finished I went and fired it into the ranks of the enemy, and such a grand "skedallel" you have not seen since the evacuation of Atlanta. Colonel Buckmaster, (the speaker) with great valor and stratagem, tried to rally the copperheads and restore order to his broken columns but finding all his efforts ineffectual, he flashed his speaker's hammer in fierce circles and cried out, "Boys, each of you take his hat and save himself."

The Discovery of Grant.

The discovery of Grant was a romance, a melodrama, almost as breathless as any of Dumas' novels portraying or depicting the arrival of one of his dashing and invincible heroes.

In the book entitled "Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant" written in 1885, General Grant says: Vol. 1, Page 232:

"In time the Galena Company was mustered into the United States service, forming a part of the 11th Illinois Volunteer Infantry. My duties, I thought, had ended at Springfield, and I was prepared to start home by the evening train, leaving at nine o'clock. Up to that time I do not think I had been introduced to Governor Yates, or had ever spoken to him. I knew him by sight, however, because he was living at the same hotel, and I often saw him at the table. The evening I was to quit the Capital I left the supper room before the Governor, and was standing at the front door when he came out. He spoke to me, calling me by my old army title "Captain," and said that he understood that I was about leaving the city. I answered that I was. He said he would be glad if I would remain over night and call at the executive office the next morning. I complied with his request, and was asked to go in to the Adjutant General's office and render such assistance as I could, *the Governor saying* that my army experience would be of great service there. I accepted the proposition."

I have some ideas about the above which I want to communicate. This great book by General Grant was written by him in 1885 in his very last days. He had put off writing it until he had to write it himself, a cancer of the tongue having come upon him (resulting in operations that removed part of the tongue and paralyzed the rest so that he could *not dictate* to any secretary). Month after month, he sat on the veranda of a cottage, on the seashore, and, laboriously, used a pencil. I am *absolutely* satisfied that every word he wrote is the *exact* truth as he understood it.

Let us read this again:

"The evening I was to quit the Capital I left the supper room before the Governor and was standing at the front door when he came out. He spoke to me, calling me by my old army title, "Captain" and said he understood that I was about leaving the city. I answered that I was. He said he would be glad if I would remain over night and call at the Executive office the next morning. I complied with his request, and was asked to go into the Adjutant General's office, and render such assistance as I could, the Governor saying that my army experience would be of great service there. I accepted the proposition."

On page 234: "I had the charge of mustering these regiments into State service." P. 241. "I asked and obtained of the Governor leave of absence for a week to visit my parents in Covington, Ky. P. 242: "The 21st. Illinois, mustered in by me at Mattoon, refused to go into the service with the Colonel of their selection, in any position. While I was still absent, Governor Yates appointed me Colonel of this latter regiment."

I think I know why he put this all down there in those painful hours at Mount MacGregor, waiting for death, when he wrote his memoirs. That little hour at Springfield was a critical hour—a crisis in his life.

Is it any wonder that then, there at Mount MacGregor, in late May, 1885, he recalled that quite night in early May, 1861—that night at Springfield when the night train left without him—that happy and memorable night?

Is it any wonder that all intervening events became forgotten, and he seemed to see his Governor and to hear him calling him again "Captain"—his Governor tendering help and at the same time seeking help—and asking that the two might work and build and strain and strive together for the Nation's salvation?

In reference to this matter of how General Grant got his start, I insert here a quotation from the Chicago Sunday Tribune, of December 15th, 1918, and from installment Number 5 of the article, entitled "Centennial History of Illinois," by Rollin Lynde Hartt, as follows:

"Illinois contributed superbly to the *romantic* thrills of war, and the *supremely* romantic event of the entire war occurred in Illinois. That was the find of Grant. Permitted to drop out of the army, unsuccessful in business, Grant was already a middle-aged man when he offered his services 'in any position where he could be useful.'

"In Governor Yates he discovered his discoverer, and here you have the story as told by Yates himself, 'The plain straightforward demeanor of the man and the modestness (and the earnestness) which characterized his offer of assistance, at once awakened a lively interest in him, and impressed me with a desire to secure his counsel, for the benefit of the volunteer organization then forming for government service.

"At first I assigned him to a desk in the executive office, and his familiarity with military organization and regulations made him an invaluable assistant in my own office and in the office of the Adjutant General. Soon his admirable qualities as a military commander became apparent and I assigned him to the command of the camps of organization.

"The Twenty-first Regiment of Illinois Volunteers had become much demoralized under the thirty days experiment, and doubts arose in relation to their acceptance for a longer period. I was much perplexed to find an experienced and efficient officer to take charge of the regiment and take it into three years' service. I decided to offer the command to Captain Grant, temporarily at Covington, Kentucky, tendering him the Colonelcy. He immediately reported, accepting the commission, taking rank as colonel of that regiment from June 15, 1861."

Lincoln and Yates.

Of course the relation of Lincoln, the war President, to Yates, the war Governor, was important in its day and is important yet; but like the Cairo expedition, and the proroguing of the Legislature, it is a story by itself, and has and will have its place as a chapter in any complete and comprehensive summary of the life and times of Abraham Lincoln. It is not necessary, and surely will not be considered appropriate to the short confines of this manuscript to go into details concerning the warm friendship of the man Lincoln for Yates—and this man Yates for Lincoln. Suffice it to say that it existed and it was real and deep and lasting. It began at Salem in 1835 and lasted until and during the last day of Lincoln's life—April 14, 1865—thirty long great years. The first record i. e. the record of the first meeting is given in a key note speech by Yates at Springfield June 7, 1860—a

ratification rally in the hall of the House, in which he told of how he went to Salem in his youth and talked and supped with Lincoln there. He says:

LINCOLN'S CHARACTER.

And now fellow citizens, I am through. ["Go on," "go on."] Well, I will only say a few words in reference to the ticket. I know some folks are asking, who is Old Abe? I guess they will soon find out. [Laughter.] Old Abe is a plain sort of a man, about six feet four inches in his boots, and every inch of him MAN. [Laughter and loud cheers.] I recollect a little incident which occurred two years ago at a little party which amused me at the moment. A very tall man went up to Lincoln and said, "Mr. Lincoln, I think I am as tall as you are," and he stood up by him, displaying to the full his fine stature. Lincoln began to straighten himself up and up, until his competitor was somewhat staggered. "Well, I thought I was," said he, now doubtful which was the taller. "But," says Lincoln, straightening himself up still higher, "there's a good deal of come-out in me," and he came out two inches the highest.]Great applause and laughter.[He was, as many of you know, a plain, poor boy when he came here, and is a farmer-like looking sort of man now. A hard-working man he has been, in his time. ["Yes, and he is yet."]

I recollect the first time I ever saw Old Abe, and I have a great mind to tell you, though I don't know that I ought to. ["Yes, go on, go on."] It was more than a quarter of a century ago. [A voice, "He was 'Young Abe' then."] I was down at Salem with a friend, Wm. G. Green, 1835, who remarked to me, one day, "I'll go over and introduce you to a fine young fellow we have here—a smart, genial, active young fellow, and we'll be certain to have a good talk." I consented and he took me down to a collection of four or five houses, and looking over the way I saw a young man partly lying or resting on a cellar door, intently engaged in reading. My friend took me up and introduced me to young Lincoln, and I tell you as he rose up I wouldn't have shot at him *then* for a President. [Laughter.] Well, after some pleasant conversation, for Lincoln talked sensibly and generally then just as he does now, we all went up to dinner. I ought not to tell this on Lincoln. [Great laughter and cries of "go on," "go on!"] You know very well that we all lived in a very plain way in those times. The house was a rough log house, with a puncheon floor and clapboard roof, and might have been built like Solomon's temple, "without the sound of hammer or nail," for there was no iron in it. [Laughter.] The old lady whose house it was soon provided us with a dinner, the principal ingredient was a great bowl of milk which she handed to each. Somehow in serving Lincoln there was a mistake made, and his bowl tipped up and the bowl and milk rolled over the floor. The good old lady was in deep distress, and burst out "Oh, dear me! that's all my fault." Lincoln picked up the bowl in the best natured way in the world, remarking to her "Aunt Lizzy we'll not discuss whose fault it was—only if it don't worry you, it don't worry me." [Roars of laughter and applause.] The old lady was comforted and gave him another bowl of milk. [Renewed laughter.]

My friend Green who introduced me, told me the first time he ever saw Lincoln he was in the Sangamon river, with his pants rolled up some five feet more or less, [great merriment] trying to pilot a flat boat over a mill-dam. The boat had got so full of water that it was very difficult to manage and almost impossible to get it over the dam. Lincoln finally contrived to get her prow over so that it projected a few feet, and there it stood. But he then invented a new way of bailing a flat boat. He bored a hole through the bottom to let the water run out, and then corked her up and she launched right over. ([Great laughter.] I think the captain who proved himself so fitted to navigate the broad horn over the dam is no doubt the man who is to stand upon the deck of the old ship "the Constitution," and guide her safely over the billows and breakers that surround her.]Enthusiastic and prolonged applause.]

The Man of the People.

I do not mention these hardships of Lincoln's early life as evincing any great merit in themselves. Many a man among you may say, "I am a rail splitter. I have done many a hard day's work, and if that entitles him to be President, it entitles me to be President, too." All I mean to say in regard to his having been a poor, hard working boy, is that "it don't set him back any." [That's it.] As the young man said who courted and married a very pretty girl when on the next morning after the wedding she presented him with a thousand dollars. Lizzie, I like you very much, indeed, but this thousand don't set you back any." [Roars of laughter and cheers.] So if Lincoln has all the other qualities of a statesman, it don't set him back any with us who know and love him, to know that he was once a hard working boy.

We know he does not look very handsome, and some of the papers say he is positively ugly. Well, if all the ugly men in the United States vote for him, he will surely be elected." [Laughter.]

The record of the last meeting, revealing the continuance of the friendship, in unabated vigor, is to be found in the report, coming from William Pitt Kellogg, judge and colonel under Lincoln and twice governor and twice senator from Louisiana. Kellogg said to me:

"On the morning of the day of the assassination a visit to the White House was paid by Yates, then a senator, and another Illinoisian, who had been a presidential elector, and later a federal judge, and later a colonel of the Seventh Illinois Cavalry. Yates said: "Mr. President, here is the man you want." The President said, "That's so, he'll do," and added, "I am going to send you, Kellogg, to New Orleans, to be United States collector of the port—you will have 2,000 employees under you, all northerners, because substantially all southerners are disfranchised; but I want you to make love to those people down there." It is of interest to record that at this interview the President, for some reason, said, "I want this commission issued now," and did not rest until the commission was delivered—sent over by the Secretary of the Treasury—and the two Illinoisians walked out with the last commission ever signed by Lincoln. That night they sojourned at the old National Hotel—room 12—and Yates, who had been at the theatre, rushed in, very pale and shouted, "Oh, Kellogg, the President

has been shot." And Kellogg said to me "So we walked the streets all night, a hundred thousand men—never went to bed at all—and in the morning I stood across the street and watched them carry out the body of Abraham Lincoln, with his last commission *warm* against my heart."

I have not been able to find anything in writing from Lincoln to Yates later than 1860. In a letter dated the 26th day of April, 1860, Lincoln wrote to Yates:

"You have my entire confidence as an honorable man."

After that when any communication or conference was desired Yates always went to Washington.

I am proud of (and stirred by) all his speeches mentioning Lincoln, but have always been especially stirred by the speech of June 8.

Service as United States Senator.

What shall be said of the service in the Senate—1865 to 1871?

In the first place it is interesting to know that he was on the following committees—Pacific Railroad; Territories; Pensions.

Among his associates were the following: From Illinois, Lyman Trumbull; from Ohio, Ben Wade and John Sherman; from Michigan, Zack Chandler; from Wisconsin, Alexander Ramsey, former war governor; from Indiana, Oliver P. Morton, former war governor; from Missouri, John B. Henderson; from New York, E. D. Morgan, former war governor; from Pennsylvania, Simon Cameron; from Massachusetts, Henry Wilson and Charles Sumner; from Louisiana, Wm. P. Kellogg. His speeches were not numerous. Beside the argument in favor of the conviction of Andrew Johnson, at the impeachment trial, there were comparatively few important arguments or addresses.

On the 10th day of February, 1866 he delivered a sixteen page argument on the Civil Rights Bill, a Bill entitled "A Bill to protect citizens of the United States in their civil and political rights." In this argument he said "Mr. President, as I said in a speech on the 4th day of July last—and I wish to repeat it here now, to show that these are no new formed opinions—I say again:

"This is the genius of our government, I am willing to trust the people; and I believe that our government founded upon the *will* of all, protected by the *power* of all, and maintaining the *rights* of all, will survive the storms of civil and external convulsion, and growing in grandeur and power, will become one of the mightiest nations on the face of the earth. Therefore I am *opposed* to *slavery* (and secession) *for* an undivided *union, for* universal *freedom, and for universal suffrage.*

He also said:

"Sir, what made Abraham Lincoln President of the United States? I know he was good, very good; he was great, very great, in all those qualities which constitute the statesman; but it was his persistent advocacy of the doctrines of the Declaration of American Independence, in his debates with Stephen A. Douglas, in his speeches at the Cooper Institute in New York, in Connecticut, and in Kansas; it was his clear definition of the principles of human freedom; it was those God-inspired words—

"This Union cannot permanently endure half slave and half free—the Union will not be dissolved, but the House will cease to be divided" —it was this which riveted the attention of the nation, and made him President of the United States. And why, sir? Because, despite the prejudices of education, which we all have, despite centuries of wrong and oppression, there is somewhere, away down in the depths of the human soul— and that soul is deeper than oceans; it is like infinite space and has no boundaries—there is somewhere in the unfathomable depths of the human soul the love of liberty and the hatred of oppression. That chord Lincoln struck, and thus made himself President and his name immortal. Why are you Senators here from every northern State? Is it because you are able men? But you are not the only able men in your States. There are men distinguished for great ability and illustrious service in your states. *You are here, because* you have been true to truth, to justice, to *liberty,* and to *equal laws.*

In this speech he differs from those colleagues to whom he was most deeply attached, namely: the ones called Radicals. They believed that more laws and more amendments of the constitution were a necessity—he believed that under the constitution, as it stood, slavery could be ended and universal suffrage begun. Of this attitude Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts said: "The Senator from Illinois in a speech of rare ability and singular power has advanced a slightly different theory but all that he has said is unanswered and unanswerable."

The most noted thing occurring during this period was the Impeachment trial of Andrew Johnson, the American President, involving, first, the adoption of "Articles of Impeachment" by the House of Representatives and second, the prosecution of that Impeachment (or indictment) by the House (through its managers) before the United States Senate as a court.

The President, as all know, escaped conviction of "high crimes and misdemeanors" by one vote, 35 Senators voting "guilty" and 19 Senators voting "not guilty." Had 36 Senators voted guilty, the President would have been impeached. Each Senator was entitled to file an opinion inasmuch as each was sitting and voting just as if he were a Justice of the United States Supreme Court. Senator Yates prepared and read an exhaustive opinion. I quote a few sentences from that opinion:

"It is difficult to estimate the importance of this trial. Not in respect merely to the exalted position of the accused, not alone in the fact that it is a trial before the highest tribunal known among us, the American Senate, upon charges preferred by the immediate representatives of the sovereignty of the nation, against the President of the United States, alleging the commission by him of high crimes and misdemeanors; it is not alone in these respects that the trial rises in dignity and importance, but because it presents great and momentous issues, involving the powers, limitations and duties of the various departments of the government, and the mightiest interests of the people, now and in the future.

Here is his description of the President.

"Although he has long since been indicted and found guilty in the judgment and conscience of the American people of a giant apostacy to his party—the party of American Nationality and progress—and of a long series of atrocious wrongs and most daring and flagrant of usurpations of power and for three years has thrown himself across the path to peace and a restored Union, *and in all his efficient acts has stood forth without disguise, a bold, bad man*, the aider and abetter of treason and an enemy of his country; though this is the unanimous verdict, of the loyal popular heart of the country, yet I shall strive to confine myself, in the main, to a consideration of the issues presented in the first three articles."

He says, "It was not until the ghost of impeachment, the terrors of a broken oath, and removal from the high trust which he has abused, as a punishment for violated law, rose up to confront him, that he resorted to the technical subterfuges of his answer, that the law was unconstitutional, and the specious plea that his purpose (in resisting the law) was to test its validity before the Supreme Court.

"In the whole history of these transactions, he has written as with a pen of steel in dark and imperishable lines his criminal intent to violate the law." I insert nothing else from this opinion except the closing paragraph as follows: "Appealing, for the correctness of my verdict, to the searcher of all hearts, and to the enlightened judgment of all who love justice and accord with this cloud of witnesses, I vote, guilty. Standing, here, in my place, in this mighty temple of the nation, and, as a Senator of the Great Republic, (with all history of men (and nations) behind me, and all progress (and human happiness) before me) I falter not, on this occasion, in duty to my country and to my state. In this tremendous hour of the republic, trembling for life and being, it is no time for me to shrink from duty, after having so long (earnestly) supported those principles of government and public policy ,which, like divine ordinances, protect and guide the race of man, up the pathway of history and progress. As a juror, sitting on this great cause of my country, I wish to go into history, and I stamp upon the imperishable records of the Republic, that in the fear of God, but fearless of man I voted for the conviction of Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, for the commission of high crimes and misdemeanors.

Optimism.

It is natural to wonder what were the innermost thoughts of the last years of a fighter.

There is a surrender to melancholia not uncommon to men who have lived long and constantly the strenuous life, until something new and exciting has become a necessity, so that return to private and peaceful pursuits seems too tame to be endured. But this man came through it all, with a good heart and hope for all that was and is to come, and with admonition to his posterity, to do good and be good in Christian faith,—with exortation to right thinking and living which no pessimist would or could put forth.

He wrote down and left in a blank book a few lines reading as follows:

To my son,

To urge you to close attention to business, to economy and sobriety, to be good and do good in Christian faith, to work hard and always to keep up a good heart and hope for the work that is before you.

The History of this Writing.

One day, in 1903, I sat in the quiet office in the Mansion provided by the State of Illinois, for its Governor, when, all of a sudden, one of the secretaries came to me and said:

"Do you happen to have in this room a blank book? We need one for some of our work, and need it now. Of course we can send to a store and buy one. But time is precious, perhaps you have one here."

I replied, "In that corner, over there, you will find a pile of large blank books, left by my father. They are forty years old, but some of them have excellent paper."

Presently, the secretary returned, and said; "May we have this one? It suits our purpose."

I replied, "Yes, but let me be sure it is blank! I rapidly turned the pages, and lo, in the very center of the book, was a page with writing on it—the only page in the whole book which was not blank.

Of course I read it, for it was the handwriting of my father, dead and gone for thirty years—his death having occurred in 1873, when I was only 13 years old.

Here is what that writing said; here it is, as he wrote it, framed by me, after I had cut it out.

I know not whether this was written about 1863, when I was little and he was thinking much of me; or whether it was written about 1853, when his second son was little, and he was thinking much of him; or whether it was written about 1843, when his first-begotten son was small; the idol of his young manhood.

But this one thing I do know; it was addressed "to my son"; and so I have the right to take it and appropriate it to myself.

How like a message from beyond the grave; aye, even from the realms of light, it seemed to me, that day! It still seems so.

I love to believe and do believe, that no one saw these words until I did; that he was sitting alone, in that midnight hour, which brings that rare and radiant moment, when the wrought-up brain conveys high thought to shining pen; and that he wrote these words, and then closed the book, and wrapt the curtains of his couch around him, and laid him down to pleasant dreams—and that the next eye to behold these lines was mine.

So help me, it has always seemed like an Oath of peculiar sanctity, administered to me in a sacred way, and whenever I read it, I feel as if I stood on Holy Ground, and that I must, as I do, answer; "Father, my Father, I have read and I understand, and I promise and vow, to keep the Faith."

Period of Peace, Home and Friends.

The last factor in his life was the period from March 4, 1871, to his death November 27, 1873—two years and eight months. During a

part of this time he was somewhat ill but was bouyed up by a continual optimism.

He prepared some lectures, one on Abraham Lincoln, and prepared to begin his life over again as a lecturer. He was very successful. There was little doubt but that years of usefulness in this field was before him, when suddenly the summons to the other world came to him. Meanwhile, the family circle was exceedingly happy. The mother was fifty years old. The daughter was twenty-two. The older son was twenty-four and through all of his school and training anxieties and the younger was twelve and just leaving ordinary school to enter the Academy or preparatory department of Illinois College—with a promise that in four years he should go to the Academy at West Point, should he still desire it. So all were looking forward; all was before them, even to the father, who hoped to continue successful on the lecture platform, although that was the day of Wendell Phillips and Henry Ward Beecher, John B. Gough and Petroleum V. Nasby and Chaplain McCabe.

And the pastor came and the pastor and the "old governor" read together "Christ and the Twelve" and "Room for the Leper" and talked of the Future and of the little dead boy of eleven in Heaven and the little infant girl who had gone there and of the "four hundred thousand men on battlefield and prison men—the brave, the good, the true," who had hazarded all and sunk to rest by all their country's praises blest.

I believe there is no spot in America more happy and more sweet. Is it any wonder that in his first and last Decoration Day—memorial oration—he was sweet and not bitter; gracious and not fierce; gentle although strong, as was said by the St. Louis editor quoted at the beginning of this Manuscript. Is it any wonder that he contented himself with delivering a genuine elege—a rythmical beautiful reverie—full of lovely eulogy of fallen valor?

One of the things that had a great influence upon his life (an influence which cannot be computed) was the killing of his son. This boy was killed by lightning in 1851. His age was eleven years—having been born in the middle of the campaign in 1840. At an early age he had read such books as the Conquest of Mexico by Prescott and was probably the dearest of all the sons and daughters. His death brought the father closer to God than ever before and the memory kept him there through the ensuing twenty years. He left in writing this expression of his agony and of his hopes.

"Oh. And is it so? Art thou gone my boy? In a moment's time thou art called from time to eternity. Thou hope and pride of my life—idol of thy mother—Beloved of all—so good and pure hearted and innocent—snatched away without a moment's warning. Ah. Dark bolt of death, why select this frail frame for thy poisoned arrow? Could you not have warned him that he might once more have seen his father's eye or beheld his mother's smile? Art thou gone and could I not once whisper my deathless love into thine ear and point thy sweet spirit to "The Lamb that taketh away the sin of the world." Oh, God. I would not murmur—all thou dost is right. But thou wilt permit, pity and pardon—the sacred grief of a father—oh,

that young life—those tender years—that bright form of youth and beauty—that eye of softness and heart of love, they come over my spirit like sweet and holy memories. To thee, oh, God, we turn—thou art our only refuge. Oh, wilt thou support us—wilt thou shield us and our little ones from sudden death and at last bring us to embrace our bright, dear boy in that spirit land where now we trust he beholds the tender grief, the sacred tears we shed over his memory."

"Illinois Historical and Statistical" by John Moses, published 1892, by the Fergus Publishing Co., Chicago (page 718) says:

No public man in the state ever had so large a personal following as the "War Governor."

He had devoted friends all over the state, and singular as it may appear, some of the warmest of these, who never failed to stand by him, were found among the Democrats. They followed his personal fortunes, with a devotion which never faltered, contributing, by desirable information, by sacrifices and by personal influence, to his success.

A more entertaining and hospitable host never occupied the executive mansion. All were made welcome without stiffness, formality or offensive discrimination.

His manners were as winning as those of a charming woman, bent on conquests. In conversation, his language was chaste, and his style captivating, conveying an impression of superior ability and native goodness of heart.

It was in 1839 that his marriage occurred. It was July 11, 1839, because July 11th was the wedding day of his father. It occurred at Jacksonville and the bride was Catherine Geers, who was seventeen years old, having been born September 21, 1822, at Lexington, Kentucky, daughter of William Geers and Mary Watkins, his wife. Of this bride of 1839 who lived to become his widow for thirty-five years, 1873 to 1908, many compliments and praises from both soldiers and civilians have poured in upon the family through the years. Dark eyed little beauty in her day she was faithful through all prosperity and adversity, brave and sweet.

I venture to tell one—only one story of *her*.

Conclusion.

Ladies and gentlemen—my countrymen and country women—you will forgive me—indulge, forgive and pardon—for closing with a most personal and intimate memory. In 1868 my father, elected Senator January 1865—was still Senator from Illinois. He wrote a letter, from Washington, to my mother, in Illinois, saying:

Dear Kate:

The impeachment trial of the President, Andrew Johnson, is coming on and the trial will last one hundred days in the awful heat of Washington. Now, you know my every weakness and so do my enemies and they will unhorse me and keep me out of my seat, if they can. But if you will come on and sit every day in the north Senate gallery, I know that I can endure."

I wish you had all known my mother. She was just so fragile that she looked at the time like a little flower that would fold up and blow away; but she never hesitated a moment, and as fast as steam and rail could take her, she struck for Washington. I have thought of it a million times; the great President of the United States did not know she was coming. The mighty Senate (and it was a mighty Senate) did not know she was coming. Only one anxious soul—that awaited her arrival, as if she were the most valiant reenforcement that ever came to a battle field. I can see her yet, coming down the steps of the north Senate gallery, in her little black dress.

I forgot to tell you that I saw it all. I forgot to tell you that there was a postscript to the letter and the postscript read "P. S. Bring the boy." I was the boy. I saw it all. The whole impeachment trial of Andrew Johnson in 1868, sitting at my mother's side in the North Senate gallery. And you will pardon me, I know, for saying that a mighty Senator of the United States was held to his mighty duty by one little woman in black in the North Senate Gallery.

I am not ashamed to tell you that, more than once, (in recent years) I have felt the irresistable impulse to go to the North Senate Gallery; and, when that impulse comes, I leave my seat in the House of Representatives, (which you, the people of Illinois, have given to me) and I make my way down the center aisle of the House, and through the old Statuary Hall, and I walk across the floor of the United States Senate (where I have the right to walk, now), and I climb the steps to the North Senate Gallery; and I sit down in the seat, where my mother sat, fifty-five years ago; and, when I do so, I say to myself, "Holy ground—holy ground." for she made a sacrifice there; she sacrificed her health; she lived on for forty years, and, for ten long years, was a helpless invalid—indeed never recovered her strength.

I remember distinctly and therefore she must have said it a great many times—that she would say, "son, if you will lean forward a little I will show you a great man."

Once it was John A. Logan, who was the chairman of the prosecuting committee or "Managers" appointed by the House; once it was Senator Lyman Trumbull of Illinois; once it was old Ben Wade of Ohio; once it was Oliver P. Morton of Indiana; once it was Charles Sumner of Massachusetts. I can see them yet. I can feel them yet. I could feel them then; I feel them now. It seemed to me, as I stood up, to look over the rail, that they had great big bodies and great big heads and they moved with conscious power; (and sometimes I think that they do not make them any more). At any rate, in that great time, I obtained a conception of what an American Senator ought to be—what any American official ought to be—and that conception has never left me.

And I owe it all to my mother. She is in another gallery this afternoon and I think she is leaning forward a little. They are all there. Palmer is there and Lincoln is there and Washington is there; and the millions of men who have died in America that liberty might live are there; and the hundred million women who have agonized that Ameri-

can liberty might not die, are there; the 77,000 boys, the crimson flood of whose precious blood has made 77,000 spots (in France) "Forever America," are there; and I think of them, all, as leaning forward a little, to see what you and I are going to do, with the liberty which they all gave to us. I feel sure that you, in your hearts, will all unite with me in this simple vow—to You, who have given All, that Liberty may be ours, we promise that if you will help us, we too will be true.

JOHN M. PALMER.

Address Delivered by Norman L. Jones, Upon the Occasion of the Dedication of the Statue of John M. Palmer at Springfield, Illinois, October 16, 1923.

The deeds of an illustrious man can be best tested in the light of the time in which he lived. An event, otherwise common place, may herald the dawn of a new era. An inconspicuous beginning may proclaim a glorious triumph. What were among the difficulties of yesterday may be among the things easily accomplished today. Many of the privileges we enjoy now are the results of sacrifice on the part of those who have gone before. Both men and events must be judged by the inexorable circumstances surrounding them.

The locking of the doors of parliament is of itself an act of no importance, but when Oliver Cromwell stamped his foot and ordered the members to make way for better men; when he locked the door to Westminster Hall and put the keys in his pocket, he became the sole and absolute ruler of England.

The mere crossing of a small river like the Rubicon would ordinarily find no place in history, but when Julius Caesar stood upon its banks and proclaimed to his army that "the die is cast," he had resolved to make war on Rome, his native city. He crossed the river. He forced the great Pompey to flee, never more to see the "Eternal City" or the sunny slopes of Italy. Caesar became the ruler of Rome and the dictator over four-fifths of all the civilized world.

The part that John M. Palmer played in molding the destinies of men can neither be understood nor appreciated without a thorough knowledge of all that occurred of historical value in this country during his long and eventful lifetime beginning in 1817 and ending in 1900.

Born of parentage of splendid traits of character; free from the handicap of wealth and the baneful influences of extreme poverty, learning at the knee of his mother to

"Henceforth the majesty of God revere;
Fear Him, and you have nothing else to fear;"

spending his youth in the undeveloped states of Kentucky and Illinois; witnessing first hand the chivalry of the south and the ruggedness of pioneer life in the north; possessed with a longing for an education as good as his opportunities would afford; convinced that equal justice ought to be the common privilege of all; endowed by nature with a vigorous constitution, an attractive personal appearance, a keen and discerning mind, he was splendidly equipped for the momentous conflicts in which he was destined to engage.

His first impressions were obtained in the sunny south. He was born in the state of Kentucky. He was old enough to remember the

JOHN M. PALMER

first candidacy of Andrew Jackson for President. He was an ardent admirer of that gallant warrior and statesman. Jackson was defeated in that campaign and Palmer united with the other faithful followers of "Old Hickory" in the belief that the result of the election was not a fair expression of the will of the people, but was due to some bargain or intrigue to which Henry Clay was a party. Four years later Jackson defeated his political enemies and was triumphantly elected to the exceeding joy of his youthful disciple.

During these formative years there was hovering over our nation a dark cloud. Our country was young. It was in an experimental stage. It had fought for and won its independence after eight long years of heroic sacrifice and against tremendous odds. It attempted to establish a government upon a basis of individual freedom. Yet it was to be a freedom of the white race and not of the colored race. It must be admitted that it was worse than error for the founders of the republic to recognize human slavery.

In saying this I in no way detract from the fame of our revolutionary fathers. For, although our nation may be destined to everlasting life, our revolutionary era must always remain our most interesting period and the great leaders of that revolution must always occupy the highest place in our temple of fame. But no matter how loud we may acclaim the virtue of those heroes and no matter how strong may be our praise for these soldier-statesmen, it cannot be asserted that they adopted a perfect plan of government. Up to 1865, there was a general conviction, at least in the old world, that the government established by our fathers was an experimental government and that the reasons against the success of that experiment were at least as strong as were the reasons for success. And it has only been by hard struggle, eternal vigilance and an untold cost of life and property that it has stood the test.

But at this late day, when we view our nation's glory with pleasure and with pride, we should not criticize our statesmen for errors early made. Human slavery, always bad, has been a fearful menace to our land—a problem statesmen tried to solve and failed—an institution only crushed by spilling soldier's blood.

Two races which can never be assimilated, the one for a hundred years the other's slave, but freed at last by desolating war and clothed with equal civil rights, are left to live on common ground. And thus it is that our nation is required to carry the problem of these two races in peace and honor to the end.

It was during the period when the question of slavery was sorely agitating the minds and hearts of the American people that Palmer grew and developed into manhood. He was a small boy when the "Missouri Compromise" was passed. He had reached young manhood when the "Wilmot Proviso" was violently debated. He observed the reaction that followed the "Compromise of 1850." He assailed with all his mighty force the "Kansas-Nebraska Bill." His father, though not an abolitionist, despised the institution of slavery as it existed in the south; and because of it he moved his family into the north where both he and his children would no longer witness the scenes attendant upon that hideous institution; where they could give free expression

to their views without fear of personal violence; where men wanted to be free and where men were free.

In politics Palmer was essentially a Democrat. A devotee of General Jackson, the hero of New Orleans, a believer in the sovereignty of the states, he became an adherent of the mighty Douglas for whom he cast his first vote for Congress. In his book entitled "The Story of an Earnest Life," he tells of meeting Douglas for the first time. Palmer and a boy by the name of Breed had been attending Shurtleff College at Alton and to earn money during the summer vacation they went out to sell clocks. They stopped at a small hotel or boarding house and were given separate beds. After they had retired the landlord woke them and told them they must sleep in the same bed; and then introduced them to two men he had just brought in as Stephen A. Douglas and John T. Stuart, rival candidates for Congress. Douglas asked the boys what were their politics. Breed answered that he was a Whig and Palmer said he was a Democrat. Whereupon Douglas replied "I will sleep with the Democrat and Stuart you may sleep with the Whig." Palmer heard Douglas speak the next day. He was captivated by the matchless eloquence of the "Little Giant" and Douglas never had a more devoted adherent than Palmer until they separated in 1854 over the Kansas-Nebraska Bill.

Palmer was elected to the State Senate in 1851, as a Democrat. Slavery was then the most absorbing question before the people. There was much bitterness among them because of their divergent views. John A. Logan, who was a Representative in the Legislature from Williamson County, introduced a bill entitled "An Act to prevent the immigration of negroes into this State." The Act provided that if any person shall bring a negro into the State, he shall be liable to indictment and that if any negro, bond or free, shall remain in the State for a period of ten days with an intention of residing here he shall, for the first offense, be fined the sum of $50.00 and if not paid, then the negro should be advertised and sold at public auction and the purchaser shall have the right to compel the negro to work and serve out the time for which he was sold. Heavier penalties were provided for subsequent offenses. This bill was passed and became a law.

Palmer was opposed to the extension of slavery. He felt that it should be confined to the limits fixed by the Missouri Compromise; and when, in 1854, Stephen A. Douglas, whom he loved and admired as he did no other living statesman, introduced in the Senate of the United States the so-called "Kansas-Nebraska Bill," which if enacted into law, as it finally was, would effect a repeal of the Missouri Compromise and open the way to the spread of slavery into every state and territory where it was desired by a majority of the people, Douglas and Palmer came to the parting of the ways.

Palmer saw what Douglas did not:—that slavery would continue to disturb the American people as long as that institution lasted —that no amount of compromise could quiet them; that already our statesmen had wrestled with this great problem in the political arena for almost a half a century; that their efforts had been in vain; that their adjustments could, at best, be only temporary; that the evils and incongruity of human slavery were gnawing at the very vitals of the

American Republic and nothing but its abolition could by any possible means work a permanent cure.

So, when a resolution was introduced in the General Assembly of this state endorsing the Kansas-Nebraska Bill and commending Douglas as its author Palmer broke with his party and he and Douglas were political friends no more. But when the Civil War loomed and the nation was threatened, their great hearts again beat in unison for a common cause. Palmer went to Washington as a delegate to the Peace Convention, appointed by the illustrious war governor, Richard Yates. Douglas was the first man to call on Palmer at his hotel. They fondly greeted each other, clasped hands and pledged themselves to the cause of their country. Douglas came back to Illinois to solidify sentiment in favor of the Union. He made those incomparable speeches which steadied the Democratic party in the North, gave tremendous assurance to the Union people everywhere, and saved the border states of Kentucky and Missouri from secession. Death deprived this wonderful man of the privilege of serving his country on the field of battle. He passed away at the age of 47, before the bloom of youth had faded from his cheeks. Yet he had accomplished more by oratory and had left his imprint on more constructive legislation than any other American in all the years. Palmer said of him, "He made two speeches in Illinois of great eloquence and power, filled with fervid love of country and blazing with passionate attachment to our free constitutional system of government. These speeches were distributed over the Northwest and aroused the country, but hardly had his voice ceased to reverberate in the hall of the representatives of the state than it ceased forever. This first and noblest son of Illinois, this child of the people, closed his wonderful and brief career, crushed by that aristocracy for which he had so unhappily done so much. The people in the Northwest and especially in Illinois, hung upon his last words—forgave him all his errors and also wept tears of unaffected sorrow at his untimely death. For many years I was his political foe, but I have loved many friends less than him."

With the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, there came a revolt against the party of Douglas, against the party which had moulded the course, shaped the destiny and controlled the government of the nation since the formation of political parties. So when the convention of Bloomington met in 1856, there were assembled, Democrats who had left the party of their devotion, like Palmer and Trumbull—Whigs, like Lincoln and Yates—independents like Lovejoy and Browning—all united in the common purpose of protesting against the endeavor to extend human slavery and of resisting such extension without reference to the sacrifice which such resistance might cost. It was an essemblage of great men. John M. Palmer was elected permanent chairman of that historic convention. The convention adopted a platform declaring in no uncertain language its opposition to slavery. It nominated a state ticket and selected a name for the new party. And thus the Republican party of the state and nation was born. The party that was to elevate the immortal Lincoln to the

presidency and strike down to its death the iniquitous and accursed institution of slavery.

This new party at its convention, selected delegates to a national convention to nominate a candidate for President and Vice-President. Palmer was among those chosen to represent Illinois. John C. Fremont was nominated for President and to Palmer is due the distinction of placing in nomination Abraham Lincoln for Vice President. Lincoln was not successful. He was second in the contest. Destiny was saving him for a later time—saving him to lead the hosts opposed to slavery in 1860—saving him for martyrdom—saving him to be an emancipator of men—saving him for a place in our temple of fame —saving him to blot out the nation's greatest shame—saving him to be the most beloved of all men of all the ages.

When rebellion broke loose, Palmer did what he was expected to do. He laid down his law practice in Carlinville, and went to war to save the Union. This great man had been an outspoken antagonist of slavery. He had inveighed against it on the stump. He had opposed it in legislative halls. He had struck its hideous form at every chance. It was now his time to fight. It was the natural thing for him to do when his country called. He went, he fought and his courage is emblazoned in the skies. He was elected colonel of a regiment which was composed of one company from each of the ten counties in his congressional district. It is with great pride that I say that his county, Macoupin, your county, Sangamon, and my county, Greene, were among those which furnished him his soldiers, He was a soldier who fought. He fought in Missouri, at New Madrid and Island No. 10. He took part in the engagements around Corinth in Mississippi. He defended Nashville. He participated in the battles at Stone River, Chickamauga and Lookout Mountain. He was in the siege of Chattanooga and at the capture of Atlanta. He went into the army an inexperienced colonel. He came out of it, a major-general. We need no additional proof of his gallantry and skill. He might have gone further but for a quarrel with General Sherman. The latter, for reasons, the soundness of which, I am not here to discuss or criticize did not favor the placing of large commands in the hands of men who had not been taught the art of war in the government military academy. In proof of this statement Sherman, in his "Memoirs" when speaking of the contemplated promotion of General John A. Logan to succeed General McPherson, said, "General Logan had taken command of the Army of the Tennessee by virtue of his seniority and had done well; but I did not consider him equal to the command of three corps. He was a man of great courage and talent, but a politician by nature and experience, and it may be that for this reason he was mistrusted by regular officers like General Scofield, Thomas and myself." Sherman elevated Howard over Logan and Scofield over Palmer. Whether military jealousy deprived Logan and Palmer of military honors which might have been theirs, we will never know.

Although a quarrel with General Sherman caused Palmer to resign his command over the 14th army corps, his military career was not entirely over. Lincoln was unwilling to lose the services of so

capable a man. He had once refused to accept his resignation and when Kentucky was overrun by guerrillas and desperadoes, when lawlessness reigned and the people of that State were terror stricken, when all civil government had collapsed, the president declared martial law and placed the state under military protection. He needed a strong man to put in command of the Department of Kentucky. He naturally selected Palmer. He knew him in Illinois. He knew there was coupled in him great courage and great ability. In a short time after Palmer had assumed his command, many of the leading guerrillas were captured, tried and hung. The rest fled from the state and peace and safety were restored. As an example of his initiative as well as of his courage, I cite the following historical incident. Kentucky was a slave state but she did not join the confederacy. A majority of her people believed in slavery but they wanted their state to remain a part of the American union. Lincoln as a matter of military expendiency issued his famous "Emancipation Proclamation." By this proclamation only the slaves in the states which had joined the confederacy were freed. The Proclamation had no application whatever to slaves owned in Kentucky. A great uprising among the negroes of that state took place. They came by thousands to Louisville where Palmer was stationed, believing that he had the power to liberate them and pleaded with him to do so. He knew that he had no legal authority to do it, but he also knew that slavery in this country was doomed—that as a commander of a military department over a state under martial law, he had great powers and he decided to use them. He listened to the pleadings of the negroes and declared them to be free. For this act he was indicted under the laws of Kentucky. The sheriff came to arrest him. Palmer told the sheriff, "You may arrest me if you choose, but if you do, I have arranged with my staff to storm your jail and to arrest you and every grand juror who helped indict me and I will place all of you in the prison where you seek to confine me. I am not sure the President and Secretary of War will sustain me in declaring that the slaves of Kentucky are free but I am determined to drive the last nail in the coffin of slavery even if it costs me my command." It is needless to say that he was neither imprisoned nor shorn of his command. Soon the war closed; the greatest civil conflict in all ages ended. The 13th amendment to the Federal Constitution was adopted. Slavery was blotted out in America. The Union was preserved.

The life of General Palmer is so full of events—great achievements, noble deeds, big things, I can not touch upon any great number of them during the course of an address confined to proper limits. Two years after he returned from war, he was triumphantly elected Governor of Illinois, as a republican. During the four years of his incumbency, his administration was marked not only with the striking ability of the man, but with fearless honesty—with an integrity of the highest order. It is needless to tell the story of the attempt made by the General Assembly to grant to a great railroad company a tract of land of 1050 acres along the lake shore in Chicago. Palmer in a message violently assailed the attempt and vetoed the bill. He saved to the state and the City of Chicago a vast area of land now of priceless value. He protected

the people against an unjust barter and made it possible for the present day development of the South Park system which is admittedly one of the most magnificent park systems in all the word.

It was the great Chicago fire which tried his patience and tested his quality. A terrible holocaust swept with mighty fury, inflicting one of the greatest calamaties ever visited upon the inhabitants of a great city. Whole wards were left without a building or an inhabitant. Innumerable lives were lost. With his accustomed promptness and decision he issued a call, on the second day after the fire, for a special session of the legislature to convene three days later for the purpose of furnishing relief to the distressed people of Chicago. The legislature heroically answered the demands and soon distress had disappeared, and Chicago was on her way to that wonderful growth and development which has made her the marvel of all cities.

It was during this great crisis that the famous conflict between Palmer and General Sheridan occurred. The latter was in command of the federal soldiers stationed near Chicago. With the consent of the mayor, but without the consent of the Governor, indeed, without his knowledge, the troops were placed in Chicago ostensibly for the purpose of supporting the police. Palmer saw no necessity for such action. The troops were not there to protect federal property or to aid the national government in the performance of a federal function. A study of the record of events makes it plain that Palmer was right and that he was justified in criticising the mayor and demanding that Sheridan withdraw his troops.

The value of Palmer's services in this behalf can never be overestimated. It is no defense to the conduct of the federal government in sending its troops into a state for the performance of a service which is wholly the duty of the state to perform, to say that in the particular case they aided in keeping the peace and killed only one innocent, and unoffending citizen. That is begging the question. The rights of a state are of vital importance. Chief Justice John Marshall the greatest legal luminary America has ever produced said "The state governments are a part of the American system of government; they fill a well defined place, and their authority must be respected by the federal government if it expects that their laws will be obeyed." Oh! for more Palmers to stay the hand of usurpation, and to thwart the efforts of those who would nationalize all governmental powers.

Nationalism is deceptive and insidious. Its natural culmination is autocracy and despotism. Under the guise of peace, pretending reverence for law enforcement, nationalism silently creeps upon a people, like a thief in the night. It smothers individual rights and personal freedom. It robs the people of their sacred privileges. It is the goal of the dictator. It is the ambition of the despot. It is the scheme by which the citizens are made more defenseless when pursued by authority of law. Palmer saw the danger of nationalism after the Civil War. His words were prophetic and his warning was wise.

In 1888 Palmer was again nominated for Governor, but this time by the Democrats, and in this rock ribbed Republican State he carried on a campaign with tremendous energy and unusual brilliancy. He greatly reduced the Republican majority and it may be confidently

asserted that he would have entirely wiped it out had his opponent been any other than that keen and forceful gentleman who honors this occasion by his presence, Illinois' grandest old man, the Honorable Joseph W. Fifer.

Probably no contest for a seat in the United States Senate ever aroused as much interest among all the people of this country as did the one in 1891 between Palmer and that gallant soldier and idol of the people, former Governor Richard J. Oglesby. It was in the days when Senators were elected by the members of the General Assembly. One hundred and three votes were necessary for election. The Democrats supporting Palmer had 101. The Republicans supporting Oglesby had 100. The Populists had 3. The loyalty shown by the 101 followers of Palmer throughout the long stretch of days and weeks and months of that contest has seldom been displayed by men on any field of action. The soldiers of Leonidas at the Pass of Thermopylae were no more steadfast and true than were that now famous "101" who finally elected Palmer with the help of two of the Populists.

During his term in the Senate, he disagreed with the majority of his party on the money question. He did not believe in the free and unlimited coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1. This disagreement caused him to forsake the party of his early manhood and of his old age. He alligned himself with the so-called "Gold Democrats" and was nominated by them for President of the United States. Of course he was criticised, severely criticised. He was charged with forsaking the party which had struggled so hard to elevate him to a place of distinction and power. And now without regard to whether Palmer's critics were right or wrong, no one should have been surprised at his conduct when they became aware of his views.

He was not a party-man and yet whatever party he affiliated with he recognized its organization and rewarded its workers. But when there arose an irreconciliable difference between him and his party on a matter of great national consequence, he had always been known to follow his conscience even at the cost of violent criticism and the sacrifice of political prestige. To be bold and defiant was a part of Palmer's nature. They were characteristics too deeply imbedded in him to be dislodged. He broke with Douglas and left the Democratic party, not because his great faith and love for Douglas had waned, but because he could not espouse the cause of slavery. His very soul revolted against it. He broke with Sherman not because he chose to be insubordinate to his superior officer, but because he resented an injustice. He broke with Sheridan not because of any personal difference with one who shared the fate of battle with him, but because he would not tolerate an invasion of the sovereign rights of the State over which he was the Governor. He broke with Grant and left the Republican party not because he was disgruntled in politics or his ambition thwarted, but because he believed that "precedents of despotism become public law and in the progress of time are turned against the author." He broke with his later day followers and again left the Democratic party not because he was unmindful of the honors he had received, but because he believed the free coinage of silver would destroy an honest currency and was otherwise unjust and indefensible.

Whether we deem him wise or unwise in shifting his party affiliations, everyone must concede that this great stalwart man followed his convictions whatever it cost. Bear this in mind. He was never a fawning, patronizing politician, with his ear to the ground, intent on learning the public mind and courting public favor. He never espoused a cause in search of popularity. He never left a political party which was in a minority. Everytime he left a party he left a majority to join a minority. He never shifted his sails to meet the varying political breezes. Before entering battle he never reckoned the odds. He fought for justice and for right as God gave him the power to know them and he feared not the result.

As a military man, he won high rank among the greatest men of his day. In the political affairs of this state and nation he reached an eminence rarely attained. In private life, his achievements were no less notable. He chose the law for his profession. According to an old adage, the law is a jealous mistress. It demands an uninterrupted devotion. It exacts an unfaltering fidelity. Palmer gave to it the best years of his life. It furnished him with an opportunity for the display of his genius for logic and oratory, for the manifestation of his love for right and justice. He succeeded in the practice of law as he succeeded in every other thing he undertook. His superior abilities were recognized in every county to which his considerable practice extended. He was a leader at the bar where men of giant intellects practiced. He was held in the highest esteem by his fellow lawyers, and by the judges of the courts. He was a learned, profound and careful lawyer. Always faithful to his clients, he nevertheless observed the ethics of his profession. While ever courteous to his adversaries, he was zealous in his client's behalf. One of his contemporaries and a man who knew him well, General John I. Rinaker, once said, that any man who got into a conflict with Palmer in a law suit, could expect to come out with at least a few scars.

He was County Judge of Macoupin County. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1847. As a member of such convention he was the original advocate of a judicial system which is the basis of our present system. No one can fully appreciate the value or his proposal without an understanding of the exploitation of the courts by the politicians under the Constitution of 1818.

Not only was he chiefly responsible for restoring the prestige and dignity of our courts, but he was largely instrumental in preserving the credit of the state and by his successful fight against further authorizing banks organized under the laws of this State to issue notes or bills to circulate as money, he put an end to "wild-cat currency," which had been a plague upon the state.

What a summing up can be made of the life of this man:—A pioneer, who helped to blaze the way for future civilization in Illinois; a lawyer who added lustre to his profession; a judge who presided over a court of record; a member of a convention which wrote a constitution for the state; a soldier, who aided in putting down a rebellion and in making an indissoluble union of the states; a military commander, who proclaimed the freedom of slaves within his jurisdiction; a law-maker in the General Assembly of his State, and in

the Senate of the United States; a governor of his state, a nominee for President, the highest office within the gift of the nation; a citizen loved and respected by his neighbors; a husband and father who protected and revered the sanctity of the home.

The grandeur of this man was never more resplendent than in his home. Loving and lovable, he valued honor and virtue above all else. He bestowed upon his devoted widow, who graces this platform this afternoon and upon his children, the idol of his dreams, a proud name and a splendid example, which they have kept unsullied.

While America last, and last she must, for she is at the same time the example and the hope of those devoted to self-government, Palmer's imprint upon her institutions will endure. Unlike Egypt's tapering pyramids, lofty monuments, mere towers of silence pointing to the skies but speaking of no great deeds done in man's behalf, his works for liberty and justice are so firmly engraved that they cannot be effaced while men live and die for freedom.

SKETCHES

OF THE

HISTORY OF STEPHENSON COUNTY, ILL.

AND

INCIDENTS CONNECTED WITH THE EARLY SETTLEMENT OF THE NORTH-WEST

WRITTEN FOR THE EDITOR OF THE FREEPORT BULLETIN

BY

WILLIAM J. JOHNSTON

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REPRINT OF WILLIAM J. JOHNSTON'S HISTORY OF STEPHENSON COUNTY, ILLINOIS.

This history of Stephenson County was published, at Freeport, in 1854. Few copies are to be found. In Illinois Historical Collections Vol. 9 Travel and Description 1765-1865 by S. J. Buck, published 1914, page 366, it is stated that copies of the original printed history are in the Newberry Library, Chicago, and in the Library of the Wisconsin Historical Society, and that a typewritten copy was made at Polo, Illinois, in 1911. The Illinois State Historical Library recently purchased from Miss Angeline Clinton of Polo, the manuscript from which this history of Stephenson County is now printed. As such a long period of time has elapsed since its first printing sixty-nine years ago, and copies of it are rare and hard to find, the Historical Society considers the material of sufficient interest to warrant its publication as a contribution to the history of Illinois and the Old Northwest.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

In preparing the following brief sketches for publication it has not been contemplated to dignify the collection with the name of a history. The writer is sensible that it is not every record of facts, however true, which is entitled to such an appellation, and is fully satisfied that the most lenient criticism, could not overlook the presumption of giving to a few rambling sketches, such an ostentatious title.

A good portion of the work may be regarded as a compilation rather than an original composition, and the rest may be said to belong to that class of annals which serve to furnish materials for history.

The work, such as it is, purposes to give some account of the early settlement and history of Stephenson County, Illinois, preceded by such notice of the early discovery of the Mississippi Valley as may be considered sufficient for introduction; and accompanied by such remarks concerning some other portions of the Northwest as may be necessary to throw additional light on the facts narrated. Events relating to the aboriginal owners of the soil; incidents of the Black Hawk War; the difficulties encountered and the dangers undergone by the early Pioneers; the rapid growth of the country in wealth, population, and importance; the prosperity of the present, and brilliant prospects for the future;—are all subjects which will come under our consideration. The materials, for that portion of the work which treats of the discovery and subsequent history of the Northwest, previous to the time of the Black Hawk War, have been gleaned from various sources. The part of the narration commencing with the Black Hawk War and giving the progress of events up to the organization of the County, was for the most part obtained from the lips of those who were eye witnesses to many of the occurrences related. The County Records and files of newspapers, which were kindly placed within reach afforded additional source of information. Readers must therefore judge for themselves how far it is entitled to their confidence as an accurate narrative.

It has been remarked, that when Europeans first set foot upon our eastern shores, they are for the most part deeply struck with a certain aspect of freshness, vigor, and vitality, which the country presents. Nothing looks old and antiquated, but, as a writer remarks, "the cities and villages appear as if they were recently commenced, and being rapidly pushed toward completion, to appear well at some great cosmopolitan fete near at hand." If the traveler experiences emotions

like these as he surveys the country on the sea-board, what must be his astonishment when he looks westward of the Alleghanies, and the thriving towns and villages in the Great Valley of the Mississippi meet his view? As he beholds countless vessels navigating rivers and lakes which a short time since were not ruffled but by the Indian's canoe or the plumage of the water fowl; as he sees fertile fields where but yesterday herds of buffalo and wild deer roamed unrestrained; as he sees populous cities rising like the fabulous enchanted palaces almost in a single night, on the banks of the river, on the margin of the lake, in the depths of the forest or the bosom of the prairie; and all connected with those iron bands which shorten space and time; he will be ready to admit that it is not without some reason the western people are disposed to boast of their fair inheritance. Whether viewed in the light of its past history, its present prospects or its future destiny, the country bordering on the "Father of Waters" possesses great interest and importance. There is something so remarkable in the amazing rapidity with which so vast an amount of territory has been rescued from the wilderness and made a great and populous country, that it seems more like the realization of some romantic vision, than fixed reality.

The rapid extension of the Saxon race over this continent has often elicited the wonder of those who pay any regard to the progress of society. History tells us of the marvelous manner in which a handful of Greeks under Alexander and successors, overran and held for a long period the whole of the east. So deeply was their influence felt that the manners and language of the East were in a measure changed. The Old Testament was translated into Greek on the banks of the Nile; the New Testament was written in Greek, and this language was the channel which most of the great Philosophers and Scholars of that age made use of in communicating their thoughts to the world. But, although there are many choice writings extant in that tongue, although it is still studied by scholars and admired for the euphony of its words, and the clearness with which it presents ideas to the mind's eye, it is a dead language. It has ceased to be a means of direct communication over the civilized world, and the Macedonian Empire which served so greatly to increase its diffusion has long since passed away.

The establishment of the Roman Empire from the white cliffs of Britain unto the banks of the Euphrates, is another remarkable instance of the spread of a people and the universality of their tongue. But Rome, too, perished as it deserved and its language has ceased to be a spoken language.

The wonderful rapidity with which these two Great Empires overran the world, and the power they established is, nevertheless, of trifling importance when compared with the swift and sure progress the Anglo Saxon race are making in the present century. Whatever serves therefore to keep up the memory of those wonderful events which have transpired in our past history, whatever serves to illustrate our present progress and call attention to our future destiny cannot be looked on by any enterprising member of community with indifference, and it is hoped the following sketches of Western History will help

to create in the minds of its readers feelings of thankfulness to the Giver of all good who has cast their lot in such a country and in such an age.

The written history of the Mississippi Valley commences with its discovery by Europeans, consequently there is no positive information respecting the history, manners and customs of those who inhabited the country long before the eye of the white man surveyed this region of country, and long before the adventurous Genoese navigator spread his sails to the breeze, a race of men occupied this country who were skilled in many of the arts of peace and war, and who possessed a degree of intelligence far above the nomadic tribes who were found here in the sixteenth century. The sepulchral mounds so thickly scattered over the country in which, many curiosities are often discovered, such as bricks and metallic remains; the ancient fortifications some of which contain many acres of land; vestiges of towns laid out in streets and squares with due regularity; all go far to convince us that if the history of this country in by-gone centuries, had been preserved, it would have contained events of no ordinary interest. And the customs and habits of those who left behind them these towering mounds, and magnificent ruins of cities and temples, must have differed widely from the usages in existence among the dwellers of the wigwams who came in their footsteps.

Those who would attempt the history of the Western Continent, have a field for conjecture as extensive as was ever presented to the imaginations of those who composed the famous epics of Greece and Rome. Tales as wonderful as any in Arabic Story, or classic Mythology might easily be narrated. But great as the temptation might seem for writers to shoot off into those regions of fancy, the fictitious scribblers of the present day seem more disposed to follow some more beaten track, and confine their researches to matters where the exercise of the imagination is less laborious. Whether this arises from their good sense, or lack of a precedent in such a quarter is hard to determine. At any rate their negligence is hardly to be deplored as we have already a host of imaginative writers whose lucubrations are confessedly of no great utility to mankind.

Although that ancient people who lived in the Mississippi Valley at an early day were evidently far in advance of our Modern Indians, it is hardly to be supposed that they were much skilled in agricultural pursuits, or that they made farming the principal means of support. It is said there are no traces found of domestic animals, that were indigenous to this portion of the American Continent. The wild deer and buffalo could not be tamed and cows and sheep were unknown before they were imported by Europeans. "No grain was indigenous but Indian Corn." At the same time, there was abundance of game, owing to the scarcity of those savage and destructive animals which in some parts of the world prey on the weaker beasts which serve for the food of man—all tended to woo man from the labors of the field to the chase, where a living might be procured with little labor or care. From these circumstances it may be inferred that hunting,

and not agriculture, was the means employed for gaining a subsistence by those who have preceded Europeans on this continent.

Many fanciful theories have been invented to explain the manner in which this country came to be originally settled. There is some probability, however, in the supposition, that the pristine inhabitants were of Asiatic origin. The copper-colored natives of America bear a strong resemblance to the Asiatic Tartars, and many of the customs extant among the Indians are similar to those of many wild tribes of the ancient continent. It is said that the warlike Scytheans were in the practice of scalping their foes, and putting to death their prisoners with the cruelest tortures; that they also disguised themselves in the skins of beasts when disposed to deceive their game or frighten their enemies:—all of which practices are common among the Indians of North America. The Chinese are also reported to have a map of this country on their ancient maps, which of course would prove that they were not ignorant of its position.

The character of the people whom the early French travelers found on the banks of the Mississippi is too well known to require much comment. That they were a people as wild and free as the untamed steeds which traverse the prairies, and possessed of an invincible spirit is well known. Hospitality to strangers, steadfastness in friendship, are their characteristics not less than the dreadful anger and implacable revenge for which they are justly condemned. How long they held possession of this country it is difficult to determine, but the struggles which they made to retain it, their overthrow and expulsion forms a melancholy chapter in the history of the world, which will not soon pass from the remembrance of man.

As we will have frequent occasion to allude to many of these tribes in the course of our narrative, we will reserve further comment respecting them, and proceed to take notice of some of the early European voyagers and the progress of events in the Northwest previous to the Black Hawk War.

CHAPTER II.

In the month of May, 1539, a Spanish fleet commanded by Ferdinand De Soto came to anchor in Tampa Bay on the coast of Florida. Others of his countrymen had previously visited this part of the country, and taken back wonderful accounts of its richness and beauty. These reports, together with other stories then in circulation concerning the inexhaustible treasures of the west created in the mind of De Soto a desire to tread in the footsteps of Cortez and Pizarro. He obtained leave of Charles V. to conquer Florida at his own cost, and, as the expedition seemed a brilliant and promising one, he had little difficulty in raising all the troops necessary for his purpose. Men of wealth and high standing in the country were eager to embark in the enterprise, expecting that the riches of the new Eldorado were not inferior to those of Peru. About six hundred men followed in his train, splendid military equipments were purchased, abundant stores of provisions were provided, nor did they neglect to take along chains for the captives which they anticipated to make in the course of their conquest.

When he landed in Florida, De Soto, following the example of other Generals who have sought to increase the ardor and bravery of their troops by making retreat impossible, caused his ships to be sent away before he took up his march into the interior, where he expected to find those mines of wealth of which preceding navigators had spoken. In June they started to explore the country and spent the rest of the summer in a fruitless search for gold. The Indians in Florida were not over solicitous for the society of the soldiers; they told them therefore, that the country to the northeast of them contained the treasures they sought, and their visitors eagerly followed their directions and set out on their march to Georgia. Here again they were baffled, and turned in a westward direction. After undergoing innumerable hardships, they discovered in May 1541, for the first time, the waters of the Mississippi. After exploring the country a short distance west of the river, De Soto returned again to its banks disheartened and broken down in spirit, and being attacked by a disease, in all probability brought on by his labor and anxiety, he died after an illness of seven days, and his body was sunk in the waters of the river which he had discovered. His followers succeeded in preparing vessels to take them to sea, and finally out of the six hundred who had accompanied their leader from Spain, about three hundred departed from the scene of their disasters.

Such was the first European expedition to the Mississippi Valley. And although its object seems to have been merely to gratify vain ambition and cupidity, no one can regard its melancholy termination

otherwise than with regret. Had the ranks of these warriors been thinned on the field of open battle, had they fell in the moment of victory, the world, while it had mourned, would have given that applause which is deemed the tribute due to heroism; but to perish ingloriously in the swamps and forests of the South, by the hand of the lurking savage—by hunger and disease; to die, having the last moments of life embittered by disappointment; to die, thinking that posterity would regard them as chimerical adventurers—this was a termination to the expedition little expected by those brave soldiers who a short time before landed with flying pennons and clad in glistening armour, their hearts filled with hope and burning with enthusiasm. It is one of the many instances on record where men acting from wrong motives have failed of success. Thus far they had not established a single fort, or laid the foundation for any colony, and the only thing gained by the expedition was a dear-bought conviction of the futility of such an enterprise.

The next expedition to the Mississippi was widely different in its character and in its results. Cartier, a French navigator discovered and sailed up the St. Lawrence more than three hundred years ago, and claimed the whole country of the Indians as the property of his royal master. It was not, however, till 1634, that the Jesuits established a missionary station on Lake Huron, and planted the seeds of empire in the Northwest. In 1655, another mission was established at La Pointe on the western shore of Lake Superior, and here they heard marvelous stories of the "great river" in the west, which has its springs among the snow clad hills of the cold North, and its outlet in the beautiful groves of the South.

On the 13th of May, 1673, a small party of seven embarked at Michilimackinac for the west in two bark canoes; their whole store of provisions being a little Indian corn and jerked meat. Such humble preparations afford a strong contrast to the gorgeous equipment of the Spaniards of whom we have just spoken; and the style of the outfit was not the only thing in which the expeditions differed. The leader of the first was a haughty Castilian Cavalier, a man of war; the foremost in the second was a Missionary, a humble man and an avowed advocate of love and peace. The one seemed incident to adventure by the love of wealth and the promptings of ambition; the other desired the conversion of the natives. It is, however, to be questioned whether all the Frenchmen who accompanied or came after Padre Marquette were actuated by such a motive. While some came with the intention of befriending the savages, multitudes, it is probable, were actuated by sordid avarice.

Marquette and his companions sailed through Green Bay, entered the Fox River and crossing to the portage on the Wisconsin, floated down that stream until they reached the Mississippi.

On the 17th of June, 1673, they entered the "great river," and after floating down its current for three or four days they landed at a village of the "Illinois" tribe and were received with great hospitality. After a great deal of smoking and exchange of compliments the natives gave them a feast of hominy, fish, dog, and roast buffalo. After par-

taking of as much of this entertainment as was agreeable to them, the Frenchmen proceeded down the stream as far as the present site of Alton. They then concluded that to descend the river much farther would be productive of danger, and began to return. They came back by the Illinois River, and were highly delighted with the country through which they passed. Marquette in his journal says "they discovered the most fertile country in the world, watered by fine rivers; woods filled with the choicest vines and apple trees; extensive prairies covered with the buffalo, deer, wild fowls of various descriptions, and even parrots of a particular kind." They reached Green Bay in September, and reported their discovery, and not long after Marquette returned to the "Illinois" by their request and ministered unto them until 1675. In the month of May in this year as he was passing up Lake Michigan in his boat, he proposed to land at the mouth of a stream and perform mass. He went a little apart from his men to pray, who after waiting for a length of time, and becoming alarmed at his absence went to seek him and found him dead where he had been praying. The stream is called Marquette.

Although the early French adventurers who sought the west discovered that the chances for obtaining gold were not favorable, they easily perceived that the fur trade might become a source of immense wealth. Trading posts were speedily established in the vicinity of the lakes, along the Illinois, the Red River and the Mississippi, and various other quarters, forming a chain to connect the Canadas and Louisianas, and thus secure a large possession in the basin of the Mississippi. It is thought that Cahokia and Kaskaskia in this State were settled by traders and missionaries as early as 1690. A permanent settlement was made at Detroit in 1701. In 1718 a fortification was established near Kaskaskia and called Fort Chartres, and in this and the following year these three French settlements, Cahokia, Kaskaskia and Fort Chartres were increased by immigrants from Canada and France via New Orleans, which city was also commenced in 1718.

In 1720, Philip Francis Renault came into Illinois with 500 slaves whom he had purchased at St. Domingo, and a large number of mechanics. He came as the agent of "The Company of the West" intending to prosecute the mining business extensively. He established a village a few miles above Kaskaskia and called it St. Phillips. From this place he sent out his miners in various directions to make discoveries in minerals of gold, silver and diamonds, which they imagined were to be found in this region, and although unsuccessful in pursuit of these treasures, they discovered some extensive mines of lead which proved of great value. The lead which they there obtained was carried on pack horses to the Mississippi, sent to New Orleans in boats and thence to France.

Renault's operations were, however, soon checked. By an edict of the King of France made in May, 1719, the Company of the West were united to the East India and China Company, under the name of the Royal Company of the Indies, this company some time after failed and Renault was deprived of the means of carrying on his business. He was, however, so successful as to obtain some large tracts of coun-

try for his services, and continued to remain in the country from the time of the failure of the company in 1731 until 1744, when he returned to his native country, after having disposed of his slaves to the French settlers. This was the first introduction of slavery into Illinois.

The following description of the customs of the early French settlers is taken from the Annals of the West, a work to which we are indebted for a knowledge of many of the events above mentioned:

"The style of agriculture in all the French settlements was simple. Both the Spanish and French governments, in forming settlements on the Mississippi, had special regard to convenience of social intercourse, and protection from the Indians. All their settlements were required to be in the form of villages or towns, and lots of convenient size for a door-yard, garden and stable-yard, were provided for each family. To each village were granted two tracts of land at convenient distances, for "commonfields" and commons.

A commonfield is a tract of land of several hundred acres enclosed in common by the villagers, each person furnishing his proportion of labor and each family possessing individual interest in a portion of the field, marked off, and bounded from the rest. Ordinances were made to regulate the repairs of fences, the time of excluding cattle in the spring, and the time of gathering the crops, or opening the field for the range of cattle in the fall. Each plat of ground in the commonfield was owned in fee simple by the person to whom granted, subject to sale and conveyance the same as any landed property.

A Common is a tract of land granted to the town for wood and pasturage, in which each owner of a village lot has a common, but not an individual right. In some cases this tract embraces several thousand acres.

By this arrangement something like a community system existed in their intercourse. If the head of a family was sick, met with any casuality, or was absent as an engagee his family sustained little inconvenience. His plat in the common field was cultivated by his neighbors and the crop gathered.

A pleasant custom existed in these French villages not thirty years since and which had come down from the remotest period.

The Husbandman on his return at evening from his daily toil, was always met by his affectionate femme with the friendly kiss, and very commonly with one, perhaps two of the youngest children to receive the same salutation from le pere.

This daily interview was at the gate of the dooryard, and in view of all the villagers. The simple hearted people were a happy and contented race. A few traits of these ancient characteristics remain, but most of the descendants of the French are fully Americanized.

But a more interesting and ambitious class of men were soon to occupy this western country. The French war which lasted from 1754 to 1763 was the means of bringing many hardy adventurers west of the Alleghanies. In the course of the war much of the country had been explored by the colonial armies, and when at its close France ceded to Britain, Canada and all other possessions east of the Mississippi, settlers began to crowd into the valley of the Ohio. As might

have been expected these met with considerable opposition from the Indian tribes, who were in all probability instigated to hostilities by the Canadians and French. A little before the close of the war Alexander Henry, an Englishman, went to Michilimackinac for the purpose of trading with the Indians, and found them very much disaffected with the British. One of the chiefs waited on him and made him the following speech: "Englishman! although you have conquered the French, you have not conquered us! We are not your slaves! These lakes, these woods, these mountains, were left to us by our ancestors. They are our inheritance and we will part with them to none. Your nation suppose that we, like the white people, cannot live without bread, and pork, and beef. But you ought to know that He, the Great Spirit and Master of Life, has provided food for us upon these broad lakes and in these mountains."

Although peace had been declared between the two great European powers, a combination of the Indians was speedily formed to resist the aggressions of the English. At the head of this confederacy was the renowned Pontiac, a chief of the Ottawa tribe. He traveled among his countrymen in different parts of the west declaring that the Great Spirit said to them, "Why do you suffer these dogs in red clothing to enter your country, and take the land I have given you? Drive them from it! When you are in distress I will help you." And with such skill did he form his plans, that the impending danger was kept secret from the English until all was in readiness to commence the attack. On the day appointed they attacked the settlements and forts on a line of some thousand miles, and out of twelve forts nine surrendered. At Detroit, Fort Pitt and Fort Niagara they were unsuccessful. The Indians became disheartened because of this partial failure, divisions took place in their ranks, and some even formed treaties of peace with the English.

Pontiac finding himself abandoned, sought the west and strove once more to form an alliance, but was unsuccessful. In 1769 being invited to an Indian feast near the village of Cahokia he was killed during the festival by one of the Kaskaskia Indians.

In the month of February, 1764, a party of Frenchmen from New Orleans and other settlements near the river landed on the west bank of the Mississippi, erected a few cabins, laid off a village, and in honor of the King of France called it St. Louis.

In 1778, with the exception of the old French settlements, and a few families, here and there along the Wabash and Illinois rivers, the whole of this State was the possession of the Indians.

In this year General George Rogers Clark headed an expedition into the State, wrested the villages from the British, and after that time we begin to date the settlement of Americans in Illinois.

CHAPTER III.

In the early part of the Revolutionary War, the French villages in Illinois were in the hands of the British. Agents were sent to these posts in the Northwest, for the purpose of arousing the savages to commit depredations on the frontiers of the United States. Arms were given them, and rewards promised for whatever mischief they might be able to effect against the Americans. The French people too, although by no means friendly to British rule, were rendered hostile to the Americans from the accounts they had heard of the ferocity of "The Long Knives" who, it was said, carried on warfare with all the cruelty of savages. Fearing an invasion of these men, they also gave the Indians their countenance and assistance.

Such was the state of things in 1777, when George Rogers Clark, one of the chief spirits of Kentucky, began to meditate the capture of the British posts in Illinois. He was satisfied that if the British could only be expelled, the Indians brought from under their influence, might be awed or coaxed into something like neutrality; and as the inimical feelings of the French inhabitants were caused by the misrepresentations of the English, he might naturally have supposed there would be little doubt that their sympathy and co-operation could be secured when they found out the true character of the Americans and their ground of quarrel. He accordingly started for Williamsburgh, the capital of Virginia, and in December 1777, laid the plan he had formed before Patrick Henry, who was then Governor of Virginia. In the spring of 1778, he was authorized to enlist seven companies of men and proceed to the West. As most of the troops east of the Alleghanies were needed on the Atlantic seaboard, he determined to engage men in the Ohio Valley, in the vicinity of Pittsburgh, Holston and other points, where there was a prospect of raising recruits. Having mustered three or four companies, he set out on his march for Kaskaskia, and after a long and difficult march, on the fourth of July they reached their destination. In an incredible short space of time, he gained possession of all the military posts in that quarter, and made firm friends of the French, who were attached to the Americans, not only on account of the moderation and generosity which they had shown in their conduct towards the citizens, but also from the fact that they were now the allies of the French nation. Many conferences were held with Indians who had formerly been hostile, and some of the most bitter enemies of the Americans, came forward, and disclaiming further connection with their British friends, declared themselves "Big Knives" for the future.

In October the conquered country—if that can be called a conquest which was accomplished with means so pacific, and with the hearty concurrence of the inhabitants—was formed by the House of Burgesses of Virginia into a County called Illinois, and attached to that Commonwealth, John Todd, Esq. of Kentucky, was appointed Lieutenant Colonel and Civil Commandant.

In November of the same year, the following complimentary resolutions to those engaged in the Illinois expedition, was passed by the Virginia Legislature.

"Whereas, authentic information has been received that Lieutenant Colonel George Rogers Clark, with a body of Virginia militia, has reduced the British posts in the western part of this Commonwealth, on the river Mississippi and its branches, whereby great advantage may accrue to the common cause of America, as well as this Commonwealth in particular:

Resolved, that the thanks of this house are justly due to the said Colonel Clark and the brave officers and men under his command, for their extraordinary resolution and perseverance in so hazardous an enterprise, and for their important services thereby rendered their country."

Clark's expedition was the means of making known to the people of the eastern states the fertile plains of the Great West, and numbers of those who explored the country at that time returned at the close of the war with their families.

The first settlement formed by people from the United States was made near Bellefontaine, in Monroe County, in 1781, where a few families from western Virginia established themselves. Other immigrants soon followed, and the little settlements continued to prosper, although compelled to suffer much from the hostility of the Indian tribes around them. Two American settlements were started within the present boundaries of St. Clair County previous to the year 1800.

In 1784 Virginia ceded to the United States all her claims to the country northwest of the Ohio, called the Northwestern Territory, and shortly after Congress made arrangements for a territorial government, and General Arthur St. Clair was appointed the first Governor. In 1800 the Territory of Indiana was formed, and of this Illinois formed a part for nine years.

The various tribes of Indians scattered along the frontier had not in the meanwhile been idle. From the close of the Revolutionary War until the commencement of the last war with Great Britain there were few, if any, intervals in which all the inhabitants of the West enjoyed peace and security. The limited scope of the present work precludes the idea of giving a history of these transactions in lengthy detail, yet there are some events so closely connected with the history of this section of country in which we reside that their omission would scarcely be deemed justifiable.

One of these—and one to which future reference will be made—is the treaty of 1804, made between the United States and the united tribes of the Sacs and Foxes. This treaty was concluded in November,

1804, and as it is the basis of those treaties which were subsequently made with these Indians, and one, moreover, whose validity was so strongly contested by the renowned Black Hawk, we give our readers a copy of it entire, as we find it recorded.

"Articles of a treaty, made at St. Louis, in the District of Louisiana, between William Henry Harrison, Governor of the Indiana Territory and of the District of Louisiana; Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the said territory and district and Commissioner Plenipotentiary of the United States, for concluding any treaty or treaties which may be found necessary with any of the Northwestern tribes of Indians, of the one part, and head men of the united Sac and Fox tribes, of the other part.

Article 1. The United States receive the united Sac and Fox tribes into their friendship and protection; and the said tribes agree to consider themselves under the protection of the United States, and of no other power whatsoever.

Art. 2. The general boundary line between the lands of the United States and of the said Indian tribes shall be as follows, viz.: Beginning at a point on the Missouri River, opposite to the mouth of the Gasconada River; thence, in a direct course, so as to strike the River Jefferson at the distance of thirty miles from its mouth, and down the said Jefferson to the Mississippi; thence up the Mississippi to the mouth of the Ouisconsin River, and up the same to a point which shall be thirty-six miles, in a direct line from the mouth of said river; thence by a direct line to a point where the Fox River (a branch of the Illinois) leaves the small lake called the Sakaegan; thence down the Fox River to the Illinois River, and down the same to the Mississippi. And the said tribes, for and in consideration of the friendship of the United States, which is now extended to them, of the goods (to the value of two thousand two hundred and thirty-four dollars and fifty cents), which are now delivered, and of the annuity hereinafter stipulated to be paid, do hereby cede and relinquish forever, to the United States, all the lands included within the above described boundaries.

Art. 3. In consideration of the cession and relinquishment of land made in the preceding article, the United States will deliver to the said tribes, at the town of St. Louis, or some other convenient place on the Mississippi, yearly and every year, goods suited to the circumstances of the Indians of the value of one thousand dollars (six hundred of which are intended for the Sacs, and four hundred for the Foxes), reckoning that value at the first cost of the goods in the city or place in the United States, where they shall be procured. And if the said tribes shall hereafter, at an annual delivery of the goods aforesaid, desire that a part of their annuity should be furnished in domestic animals, implements of husbandry, and other utensils, convenient for them, the same shall at a subsequent annual delivery be furnished accordingly.

Art. 4. The United States will never interrupt the said tribes in the possession of the land which they rightfully claim; but will, on the contrary, protect them in the quiet enjoyment of the same, against

their own citizens, and against all other white persons, who may intrude upon them. And the said tribes do hereby engage that they will never sell their land, or any part thereof, to any sovereign power but the United States; nor to the citizens or subjects of any other sovereign power, nor to the citizens of the United States.

Art. 5. Lest the friendship which is now established between the United States and the said Indian tribes should be interrupted by the misconduct of individuals, it is hereby agreed, that for injuries done by individuals, no private revenge or retaliation shall take place; but, instead thereof, complaint shall be made by the party injured to the other; by the said tribes, or either of them, to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, or one of his deputies; and by the Superintendent or other person appointed by the President, to the chiefs of the said tribes. And it shall be the duty of the said chiefs, upon complaint being made, as aforesaid, to deliver up the person or persons against whom the complaint is made, to the end that he, or they, may be punished agreeably to the laws of the state or territory where the offense may have been committed. And, in like manner, if any robbery, violence or murder shall be committed on any Indian or Indians, belonging to the said tribes or either of them, the person or persons so offending shall be tried, and if found guilty, punished, in like manner as if the injury had been done to a white man. And it is further agreed, that the chiefs of the said tribes shall, to the utmost of their power, exert themselves to recover horses or other property which may be stolen from any citizen or citizens of the United States by any individual or individuals of their tribes. And the property so recovered shall be forthwith delivered to the Superintendent, or other person authorized to receive it, that it may be restored to the proper owner.

And in cases where the exertions of the chiefs shall be ineffectual in recovering the property stolen, as aforesaid, if sufficient proof can be obtained that such property was actually stolen by any Indian or Indians, belonging to the said tribes, or either of them, the United States may deduct from the annuity of the said tribes a sum equal to the value of the property which was stolen. And the United States hereby guaranty to any Indian or Indians of the said tribes a full indemnification for any horses, or other property, which may be stolen from them by any of their citizens: Provided, that the property so stolen cannot be recovered, and that sufficient proof is produced that it was actually stolen by a citizen of the United States.

Art. 6. If any citizen of the United States, or any other white person, should form a settlement upon the lands which are the property of the Sac and Fox tribes, upon complaint being made thereof to the Superintendent, or other person having charge of the affairs of the Indians, each intruder shall forthwith be removed.

Art. 7. As long as the lands which are now ceded to the United States remain their property, the Indians belonging to the said tribes shall enjoy the privilege of living and hunting upon them.

Art. 8. As the laws of the United States regulating trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes are already extended to the country

inhabited by the Sacs and Foxes, and as it is provided by those laws, that no person shall reside, as a trader, in the Indian country, without a license under the hand and seal of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, or other person appointed for the purpose by the President, the said tribes do promise and agree that they will not suffer any trader to reside among them, without such license, and that they will, from time to time, give notice to the Superintendent, or to the agent for their tribes, of all the traders that may be in their country.

Art. 9. In order to put a stop to the abuses and impositions which are practiced upon the said tribes, by the private traders, the United States will, at a convenient time, establish a trading house or factory, where the individuals of the said tribes can be supplied with goods at a more reasonable rate than they have been accustomed to procure them.

Art. 10. In order to evince the sincerity of their friendship and affection for the United States, and a respectful deference for their advice, by an act which will not only be acceptable to them, but to the common Father of all the nations of the earth, the said tribes do hereby promise and agree that they will put an end to the bloody war which has heretofore raged between their tribe and the Great and Little Osages. And for the purpose of burying the tomahawk, and renewing the friendly intercourse between themselves and the Osages, a meeting of their respective chiefs shall take place, at which, under the direction of the above named commissioner, or the Agent of Indian Affairs residing at St. Louis, an adjustment of all their differences shall be made, and peace established upon a firm and lasting basis.

Art. 11. As it is probable that the government of the United States will establish a military post at or near the mouth of the Ouisconsin River, and as the land on the lower side of the river may not be suitable for that purpose, the said tribe do hereby agree that a fort may be built, either upon the upper side of the Ouisconsin, or on the right bank of the Mississippi, as the one or the other may be found most convenient; and a tract of land not exceeding two square miles shall be given for that purpose; and the said tribes do further agree that they will at all times allow to traders and other persons traveling through their country, under the authority of the United States, a free and safe passage for themselves and their property of every description; and that for such passage, they shall at no time, and on no account whatever, be subject to any toll or exaction.

Art. 12. This treaty shall take effect and be obligatory on the contracting parties, as soon as the same shall be ratified by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States.

In testimony whereof, the said William Henry Harrison, and the chiefs and head men of said Sacs and Fox tribes, have hereunto set their hands and affixed their seals. Done at St. Louis, in the district of Louisiana, on the third day of November, one thousand eight hundred and four, and of the independence of the United States the twenty-ninth.

ADDITIONAL ARTICLE.

It is agreed that nothing in this treaty contained shall affect the claim of any individual or individuals, who may have obtained grants of land from the Spanish government, and which are not included within the general boundary line laid down in this treaty: Provided, that such grants have at any time been made known to the said tribes and recognized by them."

Then follows the signatures of the different parties, the witnesses and interpreters.

From the period of this treaty until the commencement of the war with Great Britain, the inhabitants of Illinois were little molested. The termination of the Indian hostilities induced great numbers to emigrate westward; everything seemed to indicate peace and prosperity; when the quiet routine of their border life was again broken by the discovery of a scheme, which if carried out successfully, might have put a final check on the progress of the whites toward the west.

The man who planned this mighty enterprise was Tecumseh, of whom a writer remarks that he was "as able and enterprising as Pontiac, as eloquent as Logan, as brave as Comstalk, and as unfortunate as all the three."

CHAPTER IV.

As early as 1805 Tecumseh and his brother began to influence the Indians, and although they evinced no signs of hostility until a much later period, it was judged expedient to keep a close watch over their proceedings. The plan of Pontiac, we have seen, was simply to conquer the outposts of the whites at one onset, without regard to future operations, or taking into thought any means of preserving unity in the heterogenous mass brought together for that purpose. But Tecumseh had a higher aim. He wished to make a union—a lasting union—among the tribes, not with reference to a sudden onslaught so much as for their own future preservation as a people. By uniting all the tribes into one grand confederacy, and then introducing among them the customs of civilized life, he considered that they would be able to resist the future encroachments of the whites.

Tecumseh was by nature and education eminently fitted for carrying on such an undertaking. He was not without many of the acquirements of civilized life, could read and write, and seemed well acquainted with political science. In addition to this, he was eloquent and brave, and could easily command the respect of his countrymen.

His brother, Elshwatawa, the prophet, as he was called, gave him much assistance. By working on the excessive superstition of the Indians, and making large pretensions to supernatural power, he gradually succeeded in establishing a wondrous reputation over the whole western country. Pilgrims from the most distant tribes flocked to his village to see the wondrous sage, and they were instructed to lay aside their mutual animosities and rivalries, and unite together for the accomplishment of the scheme of the great warrior.

The power of life and death was also placed in the hands of Elshwatawa, and he was made the agent for preserving the lands and property of the Indians.

A settlement was established on the banks of the Tippecanoe River, and here were gathered together some of the Shawanese, Wyandots, Delawares, Kickapoos and Pottawatomies, all united in their affection for Tecumseh and by their friendly agreement demonstrating the possibility of the measure proposed.

In 1809 Tecumseh set out to visit the tribes along the Mississippi and in the South. He, however, disclaimed any intention of stirring them up to hostilities, although the warlike demonstrations made by some tribes against the settlers of Missouri and Illinois at that time might well have caused some suspicion of his honesty. It is, however, hardly to be supposed that a man of his consummate cunning would have risked the final success of his great enterprise by urging on a few

tribes to make aggressions, which would only serve to interrupt his plan of union and prematurely disclose his project. It is more probable that the discontent on the part of those unfriendly tribes in Northern Illinois was produced by British intrigue in anticipation of the war which soon followed.

Tecumseh, however, strongly urged on all the importance of preserving unity in their dealings with the Government of the United States, and urged that thenceforth purchases should be made from a council representing all the Indian tribes united as one nation.

In August, 1810, a council was held with Tecumseh and others near General Harrison's house at Vincennes, and the conduct and language of the Indians on that occasion gave ample assurance of their ultimate designs if their demands were not complied with.

Tecumseh, however, did not apprehend immediate war, and after cautioning his brother against any outbreak in his absence, he departed for the South to see various tribes in that direction. In the meantime Harrison encamped with his army in the neighborhood of the Prophet's town, and on the morning of the 7th of November he was furiously attacked by the Indians. The result is well known. The settlement of Tecumseh was broken up, his village burnt, and the formation of a confederacy rendered impossible.

The great chief was deeply mortified to find that his brother had been induced to fight, contrary to his positive commands, but it was too late for regrets. When the war with England broke out he and his friends fought in the ranks of the British, who, in consideration of his talents and services, gave him the rank of brigadier general. But after the defeat of his darling scheme it would seem that he was indifferent to the honors heaped on him. At the battle of the Thames, when the English were defeated, he deemed flight disgraceful, and met his death with such courage as to merit the appellation of "the bravest of the Indian braves."

Among the white men who occupied a prominent place in the wars of the frontiers, Daniel Boone deserves more than a passing notice. A hunter from his youth up, he was eminently fitted for exploring and defending the western wilds. From 1769 to 1783 he had resided in Kentucky, and the descendants of those whom he assisted by the sagacity of his counsel or the force of his arm, still venerate the memory of the old hunter. But although skillful in the chase and courageous in fight, he seems to have had but little acquaintance with nice legal distinctions. He failed to secure a legal title to his land in Kentucky, and in 1798 he was dispossessed of his property. He then crossed the river into Missouri, at that time owned by Spain, and received from the Spaniards a grant of ten thousand acres of land. This land passed into the hands of the French in 1800, and when in 1803 it was acquired by the United States, the claims of Boone were rejected by the commissioners because he did not actually reside on his grant. Thus, at the age of 80, this man, who had rendered services of the highest importance to his country, was still a wanderer. But by the exertions of the delegates of the Legislature a confirmation of his grant was obtained from Congress, and he retained two thousand

acres. He died in 1820 at the age of 90. To the last part of his life he is said to have retained a passion for hunting, and so long as his strength permitted, ranged the forest in pursuit of game. When his health was so infirm that he could not venture into the woods, he would sit by his door with his rifle on his arm, deploring his departed vigor, and meditating on the multifarious scenes in which he had taken a part.

In the latter part of the year 1811 and the commencement of 1812 occurred a series of earthquakes, which was felt more or less throughout the Mississippi valley. Many boats and their crews were lost on the river, by the peculiar movement of the water, the falling in of banks, and the upheaval of old trees, which were thrown from the bottom to the surface. The town of New Madrid, in Missouri, which stood about fifteen feet higher than the summer floods sunk so low, that the very next flood covered it to the depth of five feet. The bottoms of some lakes were elevated so high as to become dry land, and it is said have since been planted with corn. In the vicinity of St. Louis the shake was so violent that the fowls fell from the trees as if dead, and many persons fled from their cabins through fear of being crushed to death.

There were two grades of territorial government established in the west. The first grade was that of Governor and Judges. The second was a territorial legislature. The people electing a House of Representatives, and the President and Senate appointing the Council. Previous to 1812 the government of Illinois Territory was administered on the plan of the First Grade. On the 14th February of this year, the Governor, Ninian Edwards, issued a proclamation, ordering meetings to be held in the different counties that the people might decide whether they would have the Second Grade of Government. The vote decided for this measure and the next fall members of the Legislature were duly elected. On the 25th of November, 1812, the Legislature convened at Kaskaskia. There were six men in the house, and an equal number in the council, and all boarded together in one family during the session. Their session lasted ten or twelve days.

During the war with Great Britain the settlers in this country, suffered much from the unfriendly Indians who under the name of Allies of Great Britain, perpetrated the most horrible atrocities. Forts were established on the line of the settlements, companies of soldiers were organized who kept a keen lookout, and various bloody reconnoiters took place, between them and their savage foes. The Massacre of Chicago which took place in 1812 affords a shocking instance of savage barbarity, and will long form one of the darkest chapters in the annals of border warfare. Our readers will find an account of this mournful event in Brown's History of Illinois.

At the conclusion of the war with Great Britain, the Indians, no longer incited by their English Allies, began to be peaceably disposed, and treaties were negotiated with many of their tribes. Confidence began to be restored to the inhabitants of the west, and emigration began to push forward into the prairies. Many of those who, during the war, had traversed the country in pursuit of the enemy, now returned with their families to cultivate the soil.

In April, 1816, Indiana was admitted into the Union as a state, and on the 18th of April, 1818, Congress authorized the people of Illinois to form a State Constitution. The Northern boundary of Illinois as fixed by Congress was latitude 42 deg. 30 min. North. All the United States territory north of the state was attached to Michigan.

CHAPTER V.

As early as 1786, Julien Dubuque visited the country on the upper Mississippi, and, having explored the mineral regions to some extent, went back to Canada. Two years afterwards he returned, and at a council held with the Indians, he succeeded in obtaining a grant of land, enclosing about 140,000 acres. By the condition of the treaty this property was to revert to the Indians after the death of Dubuque. He in the meantime married an Indian women, and amassed great wealth by mining and trading. He died in 1810 and was buried about a mile below the present city of Dubuque, where his grave is still to be seen.

In the spring of 1819, about a year after Illinois became a State, a trading post was established a little above the mouth of Galena river, by Jesse W. Shull, who at present resides in Green County, Wisconsin, a few miles from the village of Oneco. The writer is indebted to Mr. Shull for a knowledge of many of the incidents connected with the early times in the mineral region, and also for much valuable information respecting the tribes of Indians who were at that time living in this section of the country.

Shortly after Mr. Shull had estabished himself on an island above the mouth of the Mecapiasipo, the Indian name for Fever River—news reached him that the Indians had discovered the famous Buck lead near the present site of Galena, and by their request he moved his trading house down to the point, the place where the city now stands. At that time there was not another white man in the place. That summer A. P. Van Metre came out and stayed with Mr. Shull, and in the fall they were joined by Dr. Samuel Mure, a gentleman of Scottish descent, who afterwards named the place Galena, from the Greek name of the mineral so abundant in its vicinity.

In the summer season they exchanged goods for lead, and in the winter they traded for furs. During the summer the Indians would dig with a diligence truly surprising when we consider their characteristic indolence. They would sink shafts for many feet below the surface and pick the lead out of the crevices with deer's horns and other instruments of the rudest description.

Their mode of blasting, or rather breaking through layers of rock was very ingenious. When they struck the rock, they would remove the dirt clean from its surface, and then kindle a strong fire on the bare rock, this they would keep burning until the stone was red hot, when they would suddenly pour in a quantity of cold water, which would crack it in pieces.

Their furnaces were all of the simplest kind, consisting merely of a few large flat stones laid on the ground, and shelving slightly to one

side. On this simple foundation they would lay their mineral, on top of which they built a fire, and as the melted lead ran off it was conducted into moulds. The most of the labor connected with the mining, was however done by the squaws, who usually are called on to perform whatever of drudgery the wants of savage life render necessary.

In 1823, Col. James Johnson of Kentucky, obtained a lease from the United States government to carry on the business of mining and smelting in this region. He came on with a strong force and commenced operations. By some the date of his arrival is given as 1821, we take it as given in the "Annals of the West". Although his efforts in pursuit of mineral were attended with good success, Johnson did not remain long in the country. Others, however, from various portions of the United States soon began to flock in, encouraged by the stories then circulated of the sudden fortunes which could so easily be acquired, and multitudes of these adventurers became immensely wealthy. Many of the people of Southern Illinois brought up supplies of provisions to the mines in the spring, prosecuted mining in the summer, and returned home again in the fall. On this account they were facetiously called "Suckers", an appellation which is now generally applied to people of this State.

In the fall of 1825, one of the Indians informed Mr. Shull that he had discovered traces of lead at some distance back in the country, and beyond the limits of the region which had been secured by the whites for mining purposes. He stated that for a consideration he would show his friend the trader, the spot where he believed this mineral could be found and also grant him the privilege of digging there. Mr. Shull entered into an agreement and accompanied him to this place, but as he was not particularly struck with the appearance of things, he went back to Galena and did not go back to examine the ground until the next spring. When he revisited the place, however, he discovered by the rank vegetation in a certain place that there was a large crevice underneath. He immediately set to work, and before he had proceeded far discovered an immense bed of mineral. It was not long, however, until he met with an interruption. Happening to raise his eyes from the work on which he was so intently engaged, he spied a troop of Winnebago Indians coming towards him at full speed. Among the number was Wabokiesheik the Prophet and other men of note in the tribe. On coming up they at once demanded why he had left the proper mining ground of the whites and trespassed on their territory, and ordered him to desist. They told him that no one of the tribe had any business to sell what of right belonged to their nation at large, but inasmuch as he was a friend they would permit him to dig along with them if he chose. On this they all set to work with great alacrity and soon rolled out a great many huge blocks of the shining mineral. Shull then made them a proposition to buy the land in that vicinity, and after some time spent in consultation they accepted the terms. This was the commencement of the "Shullsburgh diggings."

In the same summer, George Ferguson and Robert Clayton discovered "New Diggings", and shortly after the East Fork diggings was found.

At this time, although there were about four hundred miners in this section, there were very few families. In Galena there were five or six families.

In 1827 the number of miners was about sixteen hundred. During this year William Hamilton of New York, discovered the diggings at Wyota, where Fort Hamilton was subsequently built.

In the summer of 1827 the Indians evinced some signs of hostility to the miners. Some of the whites had gone over their proper bounds and trespassed on the Indian's grounds, and in addition to that there was another cause of complaint.

In the month of July a boat left Galena for Fort Snelling, and on their way up the river the crew stopped at an Indian encampment on the bank of the river. Some of the Indians came on board the boat, were forcibly detained by the people on board and were not permitted to land until they had gone about twelve miles further up the stream. The Indians highly resented the insult, and watched the return of the boat. As soon as the party were discovered descending the stream, the Indians attacked them from the bank, and severely wounded some of the people on board. They managed to escape and eventually reached Galena. Their boat was well nigh riddled with bullets. When they arrived they spread the alarm, and the people began to build small forts here and there, where it was most convenient, and speedily flocked into them for safety.

General Dodge who had a short time previous come from Missouri, raised several companies of volunteers, and began to scour the country in various directions.

In one of these excursions when the troops were in the vicinity of Mineral Point, they discovered a young Indian lad a short distance from them. Gen. Dodge ordered the guide and interpreter Jesse W. Shull, to go up to the young Indian and ascertain if possible to what tribe he belonged, and where his friends were encamped. As soon as the boy perceived Shull approaching he ran off at full speed, but at length by giving him assurances of safety if he halted, and threatening him if he persisted in flight, he was induced to stop and surrender himself into their hands. When brought into the General's presence, the brave boy refused to give up his gun, and had to be disarmed by main force. He told them that he was the son of Winnesheek of the Winnesheek band of Winnebagoes, whose village stood on the Pekatonica, that his father's people were hunting near by where he was captured.

When the soldiers approached the place where Winnesheek and his party were stationed, they fled in all directions fearing they were going to be attacked. Dodge told the boy to go into the neighborhood of some thickets where he knew some of them to be concealed and call them out as they wished to have a talk with them, but his repeated calls met no response from his suspicious kinsfolk.

The white people kept charge of the boy and not long after, Dodge and his troops started down the country towards the Pekatonica in order to ascertain whether the bands of the Winnebagoes in that vicinity had gone to attend a council of hostile Indians at that time

reported to be met on the Wisconsin river. On coming to the village of Winnesheek they found it entirely deserted. The chief and all his band had gone to attend the great council.

This village was situated on a part of the present site of Freeport. The wigwams stood on the south side of the small brook which runs through our town near its confluence with the Pekatonica, and a very little to the west of the Railroad depot grounds. Many of our old citizens remember seeing the poles of the lodges standing long after those rude habitations were abandoned by their occupants. The burial ground was on the north side of the creek near the place where the Freight House of the Galena and Chicago Union Railroad now stands, and while excavating the earth in that vicinity about two years ago, a number of skeletons were dug up by the workmen. Their cornfield was on the other side of the Pekatonica river, a short distance from the bank of the stream.

The writer was informed that at the time of Dodge's visit to Winnesheek, the band numbered upwards of two hundred. Winnesheek himself was at that time about sixty years of age. Mr. Shull describes him as a short fleshy man, very taciturn, very honest, and, more wonderful than all for an Indian, very temperate. He was much respected by his nation, and at the same time a firm friend to the white man. At the close of the Black Hawk war this band was removed with the rest of their tribe into the vicinity of Prairie du Chien.

The Winnebago difficulty did not result in war. A treaty was made with them by which the whites were allowed to occupy part of the mineral region, and the Indians were paid twenty thousand dollars in goods for the damages they had sustained. About a year afterwards a large tract of the mineral country was purchased from the Indians. Two strips of land, the one extending along the Wisconsin and Fox rivers from east to west, giving a passage across the country from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi, and the other reaching from Rock Island to the Wisconsin were at the same time purchased.

After the settlement of these Indian difficulties, little occurred to interrupt the miners in their business, until the time of the Black Hawk war. Vast quantities of mineral were found at Galena and various places in that vicinity. The ore was so abundant that it required no great outlay of capital to make a commencement. As in the gold mines of California, any young man who possessed the will and the strength to handle a pick axe or shovel, might proceed at once to business.

It required in most instances but two men to sink a shaft, as the deep pits are termed, the one digging and the other drawing up the earth and mineral by means of a windlass. It was rare in those days to sink a shaft deeper than sixty feet, for when they reached water they had no apparatus for pumping, and had to abandon their work. When in sinking they reached a crevice where the mineral was deposited, they would follow the course of the lead and make excavations in a lateral direction which they termed "drifts." If the crevice extended very far after following it some distance they would sink another shaft, and soon, connecting shaft to shaft by means of the "drift" below, until the quantity of mineral was exhausted.

Sinking these shafts, was, however, attended with no small degree of danger. Sometimes in the spring, or during wet weather, the sides of the pit would give way, and the unfortunate miner beneath be buried alive. At times the earth would commence sliding in at the bottom of the "shaft" and the workman by dint of very quick tramping so as to keep above the earth, would stand a chance of coming out in safety. To prevent accidents of this kind, many of the more cautious would construct a kind of curb of timber, which served to retain the loose earth at the sides.

Although many of these miners were considered rather rough characters, the majority do not seem to have been indifferent to good order, and the preservation of such regulations as would secure to each individual undisturbed possession of his own property. When there were no magistrates among them, or courts of justice, they generally gave to crime, when discovered, a prompt punishment and speedily got rid of the offender. If a miner was caught stealing, he would be immediately arraigned for the offence, and after receiving a sound drubbing, be expelled from the mining district at once.

Each man was allowed a space of land, embracing about two hundred square yards, on which he might dig, provided he worked five days out of seven, and left his tools constantly on the ground. If his tools were missing, or if he was found wilfully to have abandoned his diggings for five days together, the ground was considered abandoned and open to the first claimant.

Many of these miners have accumulated a large amount of property. Many of our wealthy merchants in the western country, can look back to the time when the fortunate discovery of a cleft filled with the "shining" ore, put them in possession of a fortune in a day. Others again, have been less fortunate, some have either never made any great discoveries, or squandered their money in the drinking saloon or at the gaming table.

As the miners did not pretend to cultivate land and raise crops, they were, in those early times, entirely dependant on the supplies which reached them by way of the Mississippi, and if the navigation did not open until late in the spring, the people around Galena were liable to suffer much inconvenience.

In the spring of 1829 there was so great a destitution that the inhabitants were under the necessity of paying exorbitant prices for provisions. Some of the miners paid as high as four thousand pounds of mineral for a barrel of flour. The lowest price paid for the mineral was five dollars a thousand and it sometimes sold for fifteen.

In 1829 some of the miners went over the river and started to dig on Dubuque's old grounds. They were, however, soon ordered off by some persons in St. Louis, who, it was supposed, had a claim of some kind against Dubuque's property. The people were thus thrust off for a time, but having subsequently ascertained that this land on Dubuque's death reverted to the Indians, and that the validity of any claim against it as his estate would not be sustained, they returned once more and went to digging, making such arrangements with the Indians as they deemed expedient. It was not, however, until after the Black

Hawk war that these grounds on the west side of the river were bought from the Indians, thus giving the whites the undisputed privilege of carrying on their business.

Still up to this time there were but a few families in Galena, and with the exception of a few rude huts belonging to the miners, there were no buildings near what is now the city of Dubuque. Mr. Ezra B. Gillett, who resides in Oneco in this County, was at that time in the mining region. He and his partner Cuyler Armstrong had a claim embracing the greater part of the site of the flourishing city of Dubuque. This claim they sold in the fall of 1833 for two barrels of flour.

CHAPTER VI.

Since the year 1831 the name of Black Hawk has been familiar to the people of the United States, and, although the alarm which he excited in the western frontiers by his deeds, and the curiosity which he aroused in eastern cities by his visits, have ceased; the life and adventures of this singular man who held a place so prominent in the political relations of the Indian tribes, and the people of the United States, still occupy a prominent place in the history of this country.

Black Hawk, or Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiah, was by birth a Sac. He was born at the principal village of his tribe on Rock river in 1767. Although not a chief by birth, he very early in life proved himself no common brave, and as early as the age of fifteen he was admitted into the number of the Warriors of his people. In various battles with the surrounding tribes he displayed such bravery and address that the young men reposed confidence in him as a leader and were ready to follow him in his expeditions.

On the breaking out of the last war with Great Britain, Black Hawk followed the fortunes of the British and went to their assistance with a band of five hundred warriors. Before the war was over he returned home, when the following incident, which he himself related, served to incite him to fresh outrages against the Americans. It seems according to his own statement that some time before he went to Detroit he visited an old friend, whose son he adopted and instructed to hunt. His friend was well disposed towards the Americans and would not accompany him to Canada, but expressed his determination to go with his son and a small band, and winter at a white settlement near Salt river.

When Black Hawk returned to his village he found his old friend lying at the point of death. With his last strength he aroused himself sufficiently to make the following statement in reply to Black Hawk's inquiries:

"Soon after your departure to join the British, I descended the river with a small party, to winter at the place I told you the white men had requested me to come to. When we arrived I found a fort built, and the white family that had invited me to come and hunt near them had removed to it. I then paid a visit to the fort, to tell them that myself and little band was friendly, and that we wished to hunt in the vicinity of their fort. The war chief who commanded it, told me that we might hunt on the Illinois side of the Mississippi, and no person would trouble. That the horsemen only ranged on the Missouri side, and he had directed them not to cross the river. I was pleased with this assurance of safety, and immediately crossed over and made

my winter's camp. Game was plenty. We lived happy and often talked of you. My boy regretted your absence and the hardships you would be called on to undergo. We had been here about two moons, when my boy went out as usual to hunt. Night came on and he did not return. I was alarmed for his safety, and passed a sleepless night. In the morning my old woman went to the other lodges and gave the alarm, and all turned out in pursuit. There being snow on the ground they soon came upon his track, and after pursuing it some distance found that he was on the trail of a deer which led to the river. They soon came to the place where he had stood and fired, and found a deer hanging upon the branch of a tree, which had been skinned. But here also were found the tracks of white men. They had taken my boy prisoner. Their tracks led across the river, and then down towards the fort. My friends followed them, and soon found my boy lying dead. He had been most cruelly murdered. His face was shot to pieces, his body stabbed in several places, and his head scalped. His arms were tied behind him."

Scarcely had the old man concluded when he breathed his last, and the stern listener, shocked at the fate of the boy he loved, and touched by the death of his comrade was roused to take revenge on the Americans. During the time the war lasted he was their unrelenting foe, and even after peace was concluded he continued to work them mischief whenever it was in his power.

In 1816, a treaty was made between the United States and the chiefs and warriors of the Sacs and Foxes by which the former agreements of 1804 was confirmed.

In 1823, a large number of the Sacs and Foxes with the Chief Keokuk went on the west side of the Mississippi and established themselves on the Iowa river, but Black Hawk and his band refused to remove. According to the seventh article of the treaty of 1804, as long as the land ceded by these tribes to the United States remained the property of the Government the Indians had the privilege of hunting and fishing upon them. The Government did not therefore attempt to remove them until some land had been sold at the mouth of Rock River, including the Sac Village.

In the spring of 1830, when Black Hawk and his band returned from their hunting, they discovered that their land had been brought into market, and bought by the whites, so that their longer stay was out of the question. Black Hawk then affirmed that the lands had never been fairly sold, and after spending sometime in consultation, he avowed his purpose to keep possession of it.

In the life of Black Hawk which he himself dictated we find the views which he professed to take of the treaty of 1804, he says: "Some moons after this young chief—(speaking of Lieutenant Pike)—descended the Mississippi, one of our people killed an American, and was confined in the prison at St. Louis for the offense. We held a council at our village to see what could be done for him, which determined that Quash-qua-me, Pa-she-pa-ho, Ou-cheiqua-ha, and Ha-she-quar-hi-qua, should go down to St. Louis, and see our American father, and do all they could to have our friend released; by paying for the person killed, thus covering the blood and satisfying the relations

of the man murdered! This being the only means with us of saving a person who had killed another, and we then thought it was the same way with the whites.

"The party started with the good wishes of the whole nation, hoping they would accomplish the object of their mission. The relations of the prisoner blacked their faces and fasted, hoping the Great Spirit would take pity on them and return the husband and the father to his wife and children.

"Quash-qua-me and party remained a long time absent. They at length returned and encamped a short distance below the village, but did not come up that day, nor did any person approach their camp. They appeared to be dressed in fine coats and had medals. From these circumstances, we were in hopes they had brought us good news. Early the next morning, the council lodge was crowded—Quash-qua-me and party came up, and gave us the following account of their mission. On their arrival at St. Louis, they met their American father, and explained to him their business, and urged the release of their friend. The American chief told them he wanted land, and they agreed to give him some on the west side of the Mississippi, and some on the Illinois side opposite the Jeffreon. When the business was all arranged they expected to have their friend released to come home with them. But about the time they were ready to start, their friend was led out of prison, who ran a short distance and was shot dead. This is all they could recollect of what was said and done. They had been drunk the greater part of the time they were in St. Louis.

"This is all myself or nation knew of the treaty of 1804. It has been explained to me since. I find by that treaty, all our country east of the Mississippi, and south of the Jeffreon was ceded to the United States for one thousand a year! I will leave it to the people of the United States to say, whether our nation was properly represented in this treaty? or whether we received a fair compensation for the extent of country ceded by those four individuals. I could say much more about this treaty but I will not at this time. It has been the origin of all our difficulties."

It will be perceived that Black Hawk's statement differs considerably from the views taken of this treaty by the whites. He fixes the date of the treaty after the expedition of Lieutenant Pike in 1805, when from other authorities we learn that it was in 1804. He states also that the treaty was made with four Indians whereas it is recorded that there were five who gave their signatures to this treaty. As to the right of these men to make a treaty with the whites, but little can be said. We believe that the Government agents as a general thing negotiated with those whom they regarded head men or chiefs, and it was generally expected that the tribes they represented would abide by their terms of agreement. It is probable that these Indians had full power to treat with the whites, for if they had not, why did the tribes acquiesce so far in their proceedings as to receive the pension stipulated in the treaty for so many years without raising objections? Black Hawk himself we are told also recognized the validity of this treaty at the council of Portage de Sioux in 1816, and never raised any objection until the

Indians were called on to fulfill their part of the agreement. That he should manifest reluctance to leave the beautiful country on Rock river, and his native village, is no matter of surprise; and while we condemn the course he adopted to seek redress for his alleged grievances, and deplore the evils of that short but sanguinary struggle, we must in some degree pity his misfortune.

Those who have seen the beautiful valley of the Rock river, with its wide rolling prairies embellished with groves and clumps of trees, presenting a mingled picture of beauty and grandeur; can form some idea of the feelings of the brave warrior as he alludes to his difficulties with the whites. "Rock River," said he, "was a beautiful country—I liked my towns, my cornfields, and the home of my people;—I fought for it."

In 1831, Black Hawk and his band again returned to their village in the spring, after their annual hunt, and the squaws proceeded to plant their corn as usual. Some of the white settlers were so much opposed to this that they went and ploughed up the ground which they had planted. The Indians in turn began to annoy them, and they carried their retaliation so far that the whites were under the necessity of sending in a petition for aid to the Executive of the State. His excellency, Governor Reynolds, constructing the prolonged stay of these Indians, into an invasion of the State, called out a battalion of seven hundred militia to be in readiness to remove them. At the same time he wrote a letter to General Clark at St. Louis requesting him to use his influence in persuading the Indians to move peaceably. He also wrote to General Gaines, who ordered six companies of United States troops from Jefferson Barracks, and four companies from Prairie du Chien, to rendezvous at Rock Island, in order to give security to the inhabitants of the frontier, and repel successfully any attempt to invade the State.

On the 7th of June General Gaines held a council at Rock Island, at which Black Hawk and many of the chiefs were in attendance. The General told them that their obstinacy in refusing to leave according to treaty was highly displeasing to their great father the President, and he insisted on their immediate removal. To this Black Hawk made reply that the Sacs had never sold their lands and were determined to hold on to their old possessions. As he concluded, General Gaines arose and asked, "Who is Black Hawk? Is he a chief? By what right does he appear in council?" The indignant Indian made no reply, but rising up, he departed from the council room with a stately step. The next day he came to the council and made the following remarks:

"My father, you inquired yesterday 'who is Black Hawk? By what right does he sit among the chiefs?' I will tell you who I am. I am a Sac, my father was a Sac. I am a warrior and so was my father. Ask these young men who have followed me to battle, and they will tell who Black Hawk is. Provoke our people to war, and you will learn who Black Hawk is."

The General finding that the Indians could not be moved by persuasion, resolved on taking some other means to effect their removal, and as he was anxious to avoid bloodshed, he wrote to Governor

Reynolds for a large reinforcement of troops; under the impression that when the Indians saw a large army in their vicinity they would speedily decamp without offering resistance. The result was as he anticipated.

On the 25th of June, sixteen hundred mounted militia men reached Rock River, and the next day when General Gaines entered the Sac village, with his combined force, he found the place deserted, and the Indians encamped on the west side of the Mississippi.

About the close of the month, a treaty was made with Black Hawk's band, by which they agreed to reside on the west side of the Mississippi, and submit to the chiefs of the Sacs and Foxes who resided on that side—and that they would not return to the east of the Mississippi, without permission from the United States. The United States agreeing to give them a large amount of corn and other necessaries if they would observe the treaty.

CHAPTER VII.

But circumstances occurred which made the stay of Black Hawk on the west side of the river of short continuance.

Before the band left their old village, one of the chiefs had been sent to Malden to consult their British father in relation to their right to retain their lands. On his way back this chief called to see Wabokieskiek—"The white cloud," who was their prophet. This man was part Winnebago and part Sac, and exercised considerable influence over both tribes. He is represented as possessed of much shrewdness and cunning, and was strongly prejudiced againt the whites. He assured the chief that if the Sacs determined to hold on to their lands they might expect assistance in the spring following from the Ottawas, Winnebagoes, and other tribes, and even from the British.

When Black Hawk received this intelligence, he exerted himself to persuade as many of the United Tribes as he could to embark in this plausible enterprise. But many following the advice of the Chief Keokuk would not consent to a renewal of hostilities. At last trusting in the assurances of the Prophet he started with as many as would accompany him, and in April 1832 once more reached the mouth of Rock River and at once began to ascend towards Prophetstown in the territory of the Winnebagoes.

The Indians had not proceeded a great distance up the river before they were overtaken by an express from General Atkinson, who was then at Fort Armstrong, ordering them to return at once and cross the river. They paid no attention to this order, however, but proceeded on their way with all the alacrity possible. Again the General sent them orders, telling them if they would not return peaceably he would compel them by force. All his orders were of no avail. Black Hawk pressed on with the determination, not to be thwarted but at the same time he is represented to have been extremely anxious to avoid making the first attack.

When they reached the Prophetstown they found to their extreme mortification that however accommodating the Winnebagoes might be about permitting them to raise corn and beans with them, they were not disposed to assist them so far as to wage a war with the whites in their behalf. It is said that when Black Hawk saw the prospect of assistance thus cut off, he determined if pursued by the American General to fly back at once to the west of the Mississippi without commencing hostilities at all. Whatever his thoughts about submission or peace may have been, they seem to have been quickly dispelled by a fight which took place on the 14th of May between a number of his braves, and a party of volunteers under Major Stillman. The place

where this engagement took place was at Stillman's run, in the eastern part of Ogle County, about twenty-five miles above Dixon. Various accounts are given of the number of men on both sides. One places the number of the Indians at five or six hundred, and the force of the whites less than two hundred. In another account we find the number of Indians given as fifty, while it declares there were two hundred and seventy-five white soldiers. At any rate it is allowed that the Indians had the advantage in the skirmish, and routed the whites, with the loss of eleven men. The Indian loss was four or five.

When the news of this action reached the white settlements, the greatest consternation prevailed. The number of the Indians were greatly magnified by many who had been engaged in the late skirmish, and the inhabitants of the frontier knew too well the character of such enemies, to expect much clemency at their hands should they fall under their power. The white settlers accordingly began to build forts and take steps for defending themselves. Some families, however, in the vicinity of the Indian camping ground were massacred before they could get into places of safety, or obtain assistance from their countrymen.

On the 21st of May a party of warriors about seventy in number attacked the Indian Creek settlement, and killed fifteen persons. Two young ladies, daughters of Mr. Hall, were taken prisoners. These were subsequently restored to the whites by some Winnebagoes who had been induced to undertake their liberation. They were conducted to the American fort near Blue Mounds about two months afterwards.

About this time a party of three or four men were attacked by some Indians at Buffalo Grove, while on the way from Galena to Dixon. Their road lay through the north point of the grove, and as they approached the side of the wood they held a consultation on the propriety of keeping on through the timber. Some advised to ride around the skirt of the wood, a little further distance, but a route more likely to be safe. This was overruled, however, and the party proceeded straight on, when just as they entered the wood they were fired on by Indians, and one of the party fell from his horse. The rest suddenly wheeled and made good their escape over the prairie.

Although the various surrounding tribes did not openly espouse Black Hawk's quarrel, there were many of their young braves who were eager for war and plunder, who gave him their aid. Many bands of Sacs and Foxes, and others roamed over the country, and brutally murdered all whom they could find defenceless. The settlers were compelled to keep close in their forts, or if they ventured out to cultivate their fields to proceed armed and equipped ready for a surprise. And sometimes they were surprised.

On the 14th of June seven men were employed in a field belonging to Spafford's farm near the bank of the Pekatonica, about four or five miles from Fort Hamilton. They had stacked their arms at one end of the field, and with unaccountable carelessness had neglected to station any one as a guard. Towards evening, as they were hoeing at one end of the field, and their arms lying at the other, their attention was in some way directed to their guns. When judge of their state of minds when they saw their weapons in the hands of a band of savages who

were rapidly approaching. Five of the men were immediately killed. The other two effected their escape. One of the two, Bennet Million, came very near being taken. At the first onset of the savages, he jumped into a deep ditch or brook, which ran through the field, in the direction of the Pekatonica, and as this small stream had very steep banks, so thickly covered with grass and weeds, as to form a complete arch over his head, he was able to run along its bottom unperceived, and in this way he reached the river. The Indians who were prying around, thinking that he was hid in some corner, spied him as he was about crossing the river, and started in pursuit; but Million had the start, and he ran so swiftly that discouraged, they gave up the race, and he reached Fort Hamilton in safety.

Mr. Spencer, the other white man who escaped, ran into the woods, where he safely concealed himself, and managed to subsist for a number of days on crusts of bread which he happened to have about his person, and such other edible articles as he could procure in the forest. After rambling through the woods for a number of days he cautiously approached the vicinity of Fort Hamilton, when happening to see some friendly Menominees around the Fort, he thought they were enemies and had possession of the post, and once more fled to the woods for safety. When at last he returned to the settlement it was ascertained that his reason was impaired, and it was some time before he so far recovered from the effects of his flight as to become sane.

In the meantime active steps were taken to bring the war to a speedy termination. A large number of militia were ordered out from the southern counties to meet the regular troops under General Atkinson at Rock River. And General Scott started from the east with a number of troops, to come to the seat of war. Scott, however, as will be seen in the sequel, did not reach here until the war was over, and while Atkinson was mustering his men, and proceeding in pursuit of Black Hawk up Rock river, some skirmishes took place between small parties of our people and the Indians which are worthy of notice.

About the 18th of June, the Indians stole a number of horses from the Apple River fort, at Elizabeth, Jo Daviess county. Shortly after the animals were missed, Captain J. W. Stephenson, in memory of whom this county received its name, came from Galena to Apple River with a few of his men, and hearing of the depredation, at once set out in pursuit of the savages. As the grass was long at that season of the year, it was not difficult to keep on the Indians' trail, and they rode along at so brisk a pace that they overhauled them a little to the northeast of Waddam's Grove, in this county. The Indians immediately ran into a thicket close by, and concealing themselves behind the thick brush and fallen timber, waited for the whites to commence the attack. Stephenson, who only had about a dozen men altogether, ordered his party to dismount, and leaving the horses in charge of one or two men, led the rest to the charge, intending, no doubt, to drive the Indians from their place of concealment. These, however, reserved their fire until the white men approached quite close, they then jumped up and fired, and immediately squatted down out of sight and commenced to reload. Stephenson's men fired, but as the foe was unseen, their volley did no

damage. After they had discharged their pieces they turned back again into the open prairie, reloaded, and once more, with full as much bravery as discretion, marched in, directly in the face of the enemy. The Indians fired this time, with more effect than before. Three of Stephenson's party were killed, and several, himself included, were wounded. Stephen Howard, George Eames and a man named Lovell were the men killed. Their companions were compelled to retreat and leave the bodies on the field. They were buried on the day following.

About a week after the occurrence related above, Black Hawk selected about one hundred and fifty of his very choicest braves and started across country from Rock River, with the intention of taking the Apple River fort at Elizabeth. They reached the neighborhood of the fort undiscovered, and it was then determined to postpone the attack until the evening, at the time when the women usually came out to milk the cows; for as the gates were then left open, an entrance could be effected without much difficulty. Providentially, however, the plan was frustrated; and the indiscretion of one of their own number was the means of raising the alarm and preserving the lives of the people of the fort.

Two men who were carrying an express from Galena to Dixon, had taken dinner at the Elizabeth fort, and on resuming their journey, a few minutes ride brought them to the place where the Indians lay concealed. The Indian sentinel loth to see a white man pass so near him unscathed, fired and wounded one of the men whose name was Welsh. The man immediately fell from his horse, but Dixon, his companion, finding that he was only slightly wounded, assisted him to remount, and both turned back at full gallop to communicate the alarming intelligence. The Indians, well satisfied that further delay was impolitic, got on their horses as fast as they could and pursued them. But the two men had got into the fort and had caused the gates to be shut before they could be overtaken. The enemy then tried hard to storm the fort, but were repulsed with so much gallantry by the little garrison that they had to withdraw with a loss of thirteen men. The people of the fort lost one man, who was so indiscreet as to expose himself to the view of the savages and was shot.

The Indians, having failed in this attempt, determined on their way back to secure a small guard of soldiers who had been left in charge of some military stores in Kellog's house, in Burr Oak Grove. The guard had been removed before the Indians reached the place, but Major John Dement, had shortly before come into the neighborhood with the Independent Spy Company, belonging to Posey's brigade, and he with his company were encamped for the night in the log house, when the Indians reached the place. Dement was not aware that the Indians were so close to his quarters until near morning, when the arrival of two men put him on his guard. The way in which they detected the presence of the Indians was a little singular.

Some time after the Indians had crossed over to Elizabeth, their trail was discovered, and the news carried to the Upper Apple river fort near Scale's Mound where Captain Funk commanded. When Captain Funk was apprised of the fact that there were Indians in his neighborhood, he started off immediately, attended by a man named Duval, in

the direction of Burr Oak Grove, expecting probably to find Major Dement in that vicinity. They went across the country in the night, and a short time before day entered the grove. The horse which the Captain rode had a peculiarity somewhat remarkable for an animal, a strong aversion to the company of an Indian. No matter how high the fences around the pasture might have been, if an Indian entered the enclosure, the horse was sure to be off swift as the wind. As the captain and his companion passed a thicket on the north side of the grove, the horse began to manifest the accustomed signs of uneasiness when in the proximity of red men, and Funk concluded that there must be some lurking close by. As soon as he passed the sentinel and found Dement, he communicated his suspicions, and the Major sent out a small party to reconnoitre in that direction. These speedily returned and reported that they had seen a few Indians on horseback who had retired to an adjoining thicket when they perceived them advancing. When Dement's men got word that the Indians were in the grove they rushed out pell-mell without waiting for orders, saddled their horses one by one as they best could, and set off in the direction of the Indians. Some of them came near being taken before they could get their horses which were picketed at a considerable distance from the house, and those who ran on to the attack met with a sharp repulse, when they came to the thicket, and were driven back with considerable loss.

As Captain Funk was standing at the edge of the grove in view of the combat, a man came past him on foot in a great hurry to get at the savages. The Captain endeavored to dissuade him from venturing so far out out foot, telling him that he would be surrounded by the Indian horsemen if he left the covert of timber. The man in a sneering tone remarked, "This express thinks he sees an Indian behind every tree and stump in the grove." "My friend," said Funk, "you will see as many Indians today as I will." The fellow went on, and hardly had he approached the thicket where the Indians lay, when he was surrounded and literally cut to pieces.

When the whites returned to the log house for shelter, the Indians commenced firing on the house, and at the horses which were fastened outside. They shot quite a number of the horses, and narrowly missed killing the commanding officer himself. Dement and Duval were standing in the door together, when two of the Indians came out in sight, and before Duval, who perceived them, could draw the attention of Dement to their movements, the Indians fired. One of the bullets whizzed past Duval's ear and lodged in the timbers of the house, the other cut Dement's commission which he carried in the crown of his hat.

Shortly after, two of the men succeeded in mounting two of the fleetest horses, and galloped off to Buffalo Grove for reinforcement, and as soon as they were out of reach, the Indians, who doubtless guessed their object, formed into rank and started for Rock River. The whites lost five men in this short action, and the Indians left three of their number on the field.

The log house in the grove is still standing, and its hospitable occupant and proprietor, James Timms, who is himself one of the early pioneers, communicated to the writer, most of the particulars of the last mentioned fight, together with other incidents of much interest.

About this time General Dodge had a skirmish with a party of Indians not far from Fort Hamilton which we must not omit to mention.

A gentleman named Henry Apple rode out of the fort one day to visit his farm a short distance off, and was waylaid and shot by the Indians. His horse galloped back to the fort, and as soon as the animal was recognized the fate of his rider was conjectured. Gen. Dodge was then at the fort, and he immediately started with a small party in pursuit. The Indian trail ran along the Pekatonica, and when they came to the Horse Shoe Bend, a few miles from Wyota, they lost the track and concluded that the savages had crossed over to the point around which the river turns, a place admirably adapted for concealment, on account of the thick brush-wood and heaps of drift-wood,—there was also a small pond of water in the middle of it surrounded with steep banks. When Dodge's party crossed over they carefully examined the neck of land connecting this little peninsula with the back country, but could see no marks which would lead them to suppose that the Indians had left. So ardent were the whole company to engage with the Indians that on the question being asked who would go into the thicket and who would remain with the horses, all volunteered to go in. A few were however, left in charge of the horses, and the rest went in to the attack. The commander told them that they would have to take the first fire from the Indians, but that they should not give them time to reload and fire a second time.

As they approached the bank at the edge of the pond, the Indians fired on them, but without wavering or hesitating they jumped over the breastwork and opened their fire on the enemy, who were now in a great measure defenceless. Some of the Indians leaped into the pond and tried to escape by swimming, but out of the eleven who composed the party, not one escaped. Three of the whites fell severely wounded on the first fire of the Indians.

Some time after the fight at Burr Oak Grove another incident occurred in the same vicinity, with which all the early settlers in this neighborhood are in some degree familiar.

A party of six men were riding from Dixon to Galena along the old road south of Yellow Creek. The party consisted of St. Vrain, a trader who had formerly lived at St. Louis; Higginbottom and Floyd, miners from Galena, and Hale, Fowler and Holley from Wisconsin. A short distance from Burr Oak Grove, they halted in a ravine to prepare some refreshments. But before they got ready to partake of their meal, they discovered an Indian at a small distance from them, evidently looking for their trail. One of the company drew up his gun and was about to shoot him, but Higginbottom, who had seen considerable of back woods life constrained him, and advised them all to mount as quietly as possible and gallop for their lives. The party at once mounted, and having gained a rise of ground, found to their dismay that a strong party of Indians were scattered along the side of the ridge in advance of them and trying hard to get near enough to intercept them on the summit where their road passed, and thus drive them into the swamps, where their horses would mire. Again Higgin-

bottom urged them to gallop as fast as they could, and to keep the ridge even if brought into dangerous proximity to the savages, as that was their best chance of escape. They then started, but the enemy ahead had got so close to the road that some of the party thought they would try the lower ground to the left, and began to edge off. Higginbottom and Floyd, however, pushed on, and although the Indians fired at them from a short distance, they made their escape.

The Indians then began to drive the others further and further into the marshes. St. Vrain trusting to his former influence over the Sacs and Foxes, in the mean time tried to conciliate them by calling to them that he was "their father," and that they must not shoot him. They, however, manifested so small a degree of filial affection, that they shot him dead on the spot. The rest of the party urged their horses to the top of their speed, for each knew well from what they had witnessed that their capture would be nothing less than the forfeiture of their lives. As we have stated Higginbottom and Floyd, made the high ground and escaped. Fowler and Hale took to the left in the direction of Rush Creek, and their horses sinking in the mire they were soon surrounded by the Indians whose light ponies had no difficulty in getting firm footing. Holley was never more heard of. It was said he took a contrary direction and fled towards Yellow Creek, and in after years when skeletons were found in the retired ravines around the Creek, people imagined that his was among the number. It required about three days for Higginbottom and Floyd to complete their journey to Galena. So thickly was the way beset with the Savages that they had to travel at night, and by the most unfrequented routes to avoid discovery.

CHAPTER VIII.

Black Hawk continued to move up Rock River, but being closely pursued by the United States troops, he left the headwaters of this stream, and crossed over to the Wisconsin river. On the 21st of July a detachment of troops who had been sent to Fort Winnebago to procure supplies, discovered the Indians near the Wisconsin, not far from the Blue Mounds. They immediately made ready and attacked the savages, whom they routed with the loss of forty or fifty men. The Americans had one man killed and eight wounded.

About this time the condition of the Indians was miserable in the extreme. Their provisions had given out, and they were reduced to the verge of starvation, and so closely did the Americans pursue them that they scarcely found time to eat such edibles as it was in their power to procure. One day the Indians had roasted one of their horses, in anticipation, no doubt, of an abundant repast, when the sudden approach of the American troops compelled them to leave their meal behind them untasted.

After the fight on the Wisconsin, a number of the poor starving creatures attempted to sail down that river in canoes in order to make their escape across the Mississippi, but in their descent they were attacked by some troops on the bank of the river. Some of them were killed, some taken prisoners, and a few escaped into the woods. The rest of Black Hawk's party struck across the country in a northwest direction and reached the Mississippi about forty miles north of the mouth of the Wisconsin, near the Bad-Axe river. Here on the first of August they attempted to cross the Mississippi, but were prevented by the men on board the steamboat Warrior which was lying in the river. It is said that the commander of this vessel commenced firing on the Indians although they had hoisted a white flag and made other conciliatory manifestations. Twenty-three of the savages were killed and a great many wounded.

There are different statements respecting the circumstances attending the battle of Bad-Axe. According to an account, which also seems to coincide with General Atkinson's official report of the action, the American troops under Atkinson came up with the main body of Black Hawk's people at the place above mentioned on the second of August. In making arrangements for the battle which ensued, the commanding general precluded all chance of the Indians escaping. The brigades of Alexander and Posey were ordered to march to the river on the right, and General Henry took position on the left side of the Indians, also close to the river, while Dodge's men and the United States infantry occupied the ground between the enemy's camp and the interior. The Indians, being thus entirely surrounded, the Americans advanced to the attack. General Henry's men were the first to engage in the fight,

but the engagement soon became general and lasted about three hours. When the Indians were driven to the edge of the Mississippi, numbers of them attempted to effect their escape by swimming across, but the number of those who escaped was trifling, and it is stated that the greater part of those who did succeed in gaining the west bank, were afterwards attacked by a hostile party of the Sioux and either killed or made prisoners.

We make the following extract from the pen of Mr. Benjamin Drake who published a work containing a biography of Black Hawk, sketches of Keokuk, sketches of the Black Hawk war etc. To this work the writer is indebted for a knowledge of many of the circumstances connected with this war, which are given in the present narrative.

"The destruction of life in the battle of Bad Axe was not confined to the Indian warriors. Little discrimination seems to have been made between the slaughter of those in arms and the rest of the tribe. After they had sought refuge in the waters of the Mississippi, and the women, with their children on their backs, were buffeting the waves, in an attempt to swim to the opposite shore, numbers of them were shot by our troops. Many painful pictures might be recorded of the adventures and horrors of that day. One or two cases may be cited.

"A Sac woman named Na-ni-sa, the sister of a warrior of some note among the Indians, found herself in the hottest of the fight. She succeeded at length in reaching the river, and keeping her infant child, close in its blanket, by force of her teeth, plunged into the water, seized hold upon the tail of a horse, whose rider was swimming him to the opposite shore, and was carried safely across the Mississippi.

"When our troops charged upon the Indians in their defiles near the river, men, women and children were so huddled together, that the slaughter fell alike upon all of them. A young squaw was standing in the grass, a short distance from the American line holding her child, a little girl of four years old, in her arms. In this position, a ball struck the right arm of the child, just above the elbow, and shattering the bone, passed into the breast of its young mother, and instantly killed her. She fell upon the child and confined it to the ground. When the battle was nearly over, and the Indians had been driven to this point, Lieutenant Anderson of the United States Army, hearing the cries of the child, went to the spot, and taking it from under the dead mother, carried it to the place for surgical aid. The arm was amputated, and during the operation, the half starved child did not cry, but sat quietly eating a hard biscuit. It was sent to Prairie des Chiens, and entirely recovered from its wound."

Black Hawk himself escaped unhurt. Indeed it is stated by some, that he was not present at the battle of Bad Axe at all, and that having abandoned his people a short time before they reached the Mississippi, he had gone further up the river accompanied by a few braves.

We copy the official report of General Atkinson as we find it in the life of Black Hawk previously alluded to.

Head Quarters, First Artillery Corps, North Western Army,

PRAIRIE DES CHIENS, August 25, 1832.

SIR:—I have the honor to report to you that I crossed the Onisconsin on the 27th and 28th ultimo, with a select body of troops, consisting of the regulars under Col. Taylor, four hundred in number, part of Henry's, Posey's and Alexander's bridgades, amounting in all to 1,300 men, and immediately fell upon the trail of the enemy, and pursued it by a forced march, through a mountainous and difficult country, till the morning of the 2nd inst., when we came up with his main body on the left bank of the Mississippi, nearly opposite the mouth of the Ioway, which we attacked, defeated and dispersed, with a loss on his part of about a hundred and fifty men killed, thirty-nine women and children taken prisoners—the precise number could not be ascertained, as the greater portion was slain after being forced into the river. Our *loss* in killed and wounded, which is stated below, is very small in comparison with the enemy, which may be attributed to the enemy's being forced from his position by a rapid charge at the commencement, and throughout the engagement—the remnant of the enemy, cut up and disheartened, crossed to the opposite side of the river, and has fled into the interior, with a view, it is supposed, of joining Keokuk and Wapello's bands of Sacs and Foxes.

The horses of the volunteer troops being exhausted by long marches, and the regular troops without shoes, it was not thought advisable to continue the pursuit: indeed a stop to the further effusion of blood seemed to be called for, till it might be ascertained if the enemy would surrender.

It is ascertained from our prisoners, that the enemy lost in the battle of the Onisconsin, sixty-eight killed and a very large number wounded; his whole loss does not fall short of three hundred; after the battle of the Onisconsin, those of the enemy's women and children, and some who were dismounted, attempted to make their escape by descending that river, but judicious measures being taken by Captain Loomis and Lieut. Street, Indian agent, thirty-two women and children and four men have been captured, and some fifteen men killed by the detachment under Lieut. Ritner.

The day after the battle on this river, I fell down with the regular troops to this place by water, and the mounted men will join us today. It is now my purpose to direct Keokuk, to demand a surrender of the remaining principal men of the hostile party, which, from the large number of women and children we hold prisoners, I have every reason to believe will be complied with. Should it not, they should be pursued and subdued, a step Maj. Gen. Scott will take upon his arrival.

I cannot speak too highly of the brave conduct of the regular and volunteer forces engaged in the last battle and the fatiguing march that preceded it. As soon as the reports of officers of the brigades and corps are handed in, they shall be submitted with further remarks.

5 killed, 2 wounded, 6th inf't.
2 do 5th inf't.

1 captain, 5 privates Dodge's bat. mounted.
1 Lieut. 6 privates Henry's.
1 private wounded Alexander's.
1 private Posey's.
I have the honor to be with great respect,
Y'r ob't. servant, H. ATKINSON,
Brevet Brig. Gen. U. S. A.

Major Gen. Macomb Com. in Chief, Washington.

Not long after this battle Black Hawk was himself taken by two Winnebagoes, Decorie and Chaetar, and delivered by them to the officers at Prairie du Chien, on the 27th of August. When he was seized, the old warrior despaired of gaining much clemency from his enemies, and in view of his approaching end, made a touching speech. After recounting the wrongs of his people and his own exploits, he went on to say:

"My warriors fell around me, it began to look dismal. I saw my evil day at hand. The sun rose clear on us in the morning, and at night it sunk in a dark cloud, and looked like a ball of fire. This was the last sun that shown on Black Hawk. He is now prisoner to the white man; but he can stand the torture; he is not afraid of death; he is no coward. Black Hawk is an Indian; he has done nothing of which an Indian need be ashamed. He has fought the battles of his country against the white men, who came, year after year, to cheat them, and take away their lands.

"You know the cause of our making war, it is known to all white men; they ought to be ashamed of it. The white men despise the Indians and drive them from their homes; but the Indians are not deceitful. The white men speak ill of the Indian, and look at him spitefully; but the Indian does not tell lies; Indians do not steal. Black Hawk is satisfied; he will go to the world of spirits contented; he has done his duty—his Father will meet him, and reward him.

"The white men do not scalp the head, but they do worse; they poison the heart: it is not pure with them. His countrymen will not be scalped, but they will, in a few years, become like the white men, so that they cannot fight one another when they feel themselves wronged; and there must be, as in the white settlements, nearly as many officers as men, to take care of them and put them in order. Farewell to my nation! Farewell to Black Hawk!"

But the Americans did not put him to death, they made a different use of their victory.

We mentioned before that General Scott had started from the east at the commencement of the war. In consequence of the breaking out of the Asiatic cholera among his troops, he was unable to reach the scene of action until the battle of Bad-axe had been fought and the war virtually concluded.

On the 21st of September, General Scott and Governor Reynolds concluded a treaty with the Winnebagoes and the Sacs and Foxes. By this treaty the Winnebagoes ceded to the United States all their land east of the Mississippi and south of the Wisconsin, amounting, it is said, to upwards of four million acres of valuable territory. From

the Sacs and Foxes, six million acres of land on the west side of the Mississippi were acquired. The village of Keokuk, and an extent of land about forty miles square were reserved, but this also has since been purchased.

In return for these lands, the United States agreed to pay annually the sum of twenty thousand dollars to pay off the debts of the tribes, and support smiths among them. For the faithful performance of this treaty on the part of the Indians, it is stipulated that Black Hawk and his two sons, Wabokieshiek and Naopope, and five others of the hostile Indians, should remain for a time as hostages. These were detained during the winter at Jefferson Barracks, and in the spring they were taken to Washington, where they had an interview with General Jackson; thence they were taken to Fortress Monroe and remained until the fourth of June, 1833, when an order came from the President for their liberation. Before leaving the Chesapeake, they visited the Navy Yard at Norfolk, where the shipping filled them with great astonishment. They next visited Baltimore and there had another talk with the President, who made the following remarks:

"When I first saw you in Washington, I told you that you had behaved very badly in raising the tomahawk against the white people, and killing men, women and children upon the frontier. Your conduct last year, compelled me to send my warriors against you, and your people were defeated with great loss, and your men surrendered you, to be kept until I should be satisfied that you would not try to do any more injury. I told you I would inquire whether your people wished you to return, and whether, if you did return, there would be any danger to the frontier.

General Clark and General Atkinson, whom you know, have informed me that Sheckak, your principal chief, and the rest of your people are anxious you should return, and Keokuk has asked me to send you back. Your chiefs have pledged themselves for your good conduct, and I have given directions that you should be taken to your own country.

Major Garland, who is with you, will conduct you through some of our towns. You will see the strength of the white people. You will see that our young men are as numerous as the leaves in the woods. What can you do against us? You may kill a few women and children, but such a force would soon be sent against you, as would destroy your whole tribe. Let the red men hunt and take care of their families, but I hope they will not again raise their hands against their white brethern. We do not wish to injure you. We desire your prosperity and improvement. But if you again plunge your knives into the breasts of our people, I shall send a force which will severely punish you for your cruelties. When you go back, listen to the councils of Keokuk, and other friendly chiefs. Bury the tomahawk, and live in peace with the frontiers. And I pray the Great Spirit to give you a smooth path and a fair sky to return."

To this speech both Black Hawk and Wabokieshiek made brief replies, expressing their desire to live on terms of friendship with the whites, and the conference broke up.

It was naturally supposed, that by conducting Black Hawk through some of the largest of the eastern cities where he might have an opportunity of seeing the strength of the Americans, he would easily be convinced of the futility of any attempts which he could make, to overcome such a people. He was accordingly taken to Philadelphia, New York, Albany and other cities on the route towards the west.

In every place which the party visited east of the lakes, there was the greatest enthusiasm manifested by the people, at their presence. Speeches were made to them, and presents given them, as though instead of foemen they had been our stanchest allies. But as the party came nearer their old home in the west into the scene of their former depredations, they found a much cooler reception. By many of the frontier inhabitants Black Hawk was considered less a patriotic hero, than a blood-thirsty savage, and they were too well gratified at his utter defeat, to give him their sympathy in his humiliation.

When at length they came back to Fort Armstrong they were formally liberated, and after giving the whites many assurances of his lasting friendship, Black Hawk went home to his tribe. He remained steadfast to these promises the rest of his life. From that time forth his lodge was always open to entertain the white man, and to the day of his death he manifested toward them a kind disposition. He visited Washington again in 1837 and his presence caused about as great a sensation as on his first tour; but he was this time entirely indifferent to the attention shown him; and kept himself as retired as he could. In October the following year he died, being upwards of seventy years of age.

It is said that the character of this remarkable man for honesty and good faith in his dealings stood high in the estimation of his acquaintances.

In domestic life he was very affectionate, and his family were devotedly attached to him. He never had but one wife, and in this respect he was an exception to the great men of his tribe. Speaking of his wife he one time said:

"This is the only wife I ever had, or ever will have. She is a good woman and teaches my boys to be brave." With regard to this determination we insert the following from Mr. Drake's narrative.

It is said however, and upon pretty good authority, that on a certain occasion Black Hawk's vow of exclusive devotion to one wife, had well nigh been broken. While visiting a respectable frontier settler, many years since, he became pleased with the comely daughter of his host; and having seriously contemplated the matter, decided in favor of the expediency of adding the pale faced beauty to the domestic circle of his wigwam. He accordingly expressed his wishes to the father of the young lady, and proposed to give him a horse, but to his surprise the offer was declined. Some days afterwards he returned and tendered two fine horses, but still the father refused to make the arrangements. The old chief's love for the young lady, growing stronger, in proportion to the difficulty of gaining her father's consent, he, subsequently, offered five or six horses for her. But

even this munificent price was rejected by the mercenary father. Black Hawk now gave up the negotiation, not a little surprised, at the very high value which the white men place upon their daughters."

We must, however, admit, that the personal bravery and magnanimity of Black Hawk afford no excuse for the atrocities which he countenanced; yet while we condemn the savage traits of his character, and deplore the occasion which gave him an opportunity to display them he claims no ordinary share of our consideration from the fact that he was the last of those great western chiefs who battled in behalf of the redmen, opposing to the encroachments of the whites a feeble and unavailing resistance.

CHAPTER IX.

We have previously stated that the Winnebagoes who sold out their claim to a part of this country after the Black Hawk War, were removed into the vicinity of Prairie du Chien. Since that time they have been removed to the Northwest to the territory of Minnesota. By a treaty made with them in 1846, a portion of country near the head waters of the Mississippi was assigned to them, but so great was their dislike to that region that they could not be kept on it. Arrangements were made, therefore, during last summer, for providing them a more satisfactory locality, and a region of country on the Crow Wing River was fixed on for their purpose. The following extract from a report written last September by J. E. Fletcher, the Agent of that tribe, may serve to throw some light on the present condition of this people.

"On my arrival at this agency, on the 11th of May, some sixty acres of land had been ploughed by the farmers employed. The Indians and half breeds sowed forty acres with oats, and have subsequently sowed ten acres. They have also cultivated on the farms at this place one hundred and twelve acres in corn, fourteen acres in potatoes, two acres in rutabagas, and two acres in turnips. The farmers employed for the Indians commenced sowing oats on the 19th of May, and put in eighty-nine acres, which have yielded a good crop. They have also cultivated on the farms here forty-nine acres in corn, nineteen acres in potatoes, and twenty-five acres in rutabagas and turnips. The corn was planted late, and yields but an indifferent crop. One field containing seventeen acres, was turned over to the Superintendent of the school, in compliance with the school contract. One hundred acres of the farm on Watab prairie was ploughed in the spring, and most of it planted in corn and potatoes, and sowed in rutabagas and turnips, but the Indians there did not cultivate the crop, and it will not amount to much—the usual result of farming operations at that place.

Owing to the present condition of this tribe, I find it impossible to furnish accurately the statement required by the 13th paragraph of the Revised Regulations, No. 3, for carrying into effect the Act of June 30th, 1834, organizing the Department of Indian Affairs. The probable number of Winnebagoes at the present time is 2,500, including half-breeds. Two years ago there were over 1,700 of the tribe living within their own country. The "suitable means" that subsequently employed to bring the entire tribe within their own limits, have either not been employed or have failed to produce the desired result. On my arrival here, I found 176 of the tribe, including half-

breeds, within the limits of their own country. A large proportion of those within the limits of the Territory have since been induced to return to their own land. At the present time there are about 300 Winnebagoes at this place, a few at Watab Prairie and in that vicinity; the balance are hunting on Crow River, which, since the late treaty with them, they consider as their home.

The discontent of these Indians originates more with whites, who are interested in the disbursement of their annuities, than with the Indians themselves. Still, the discontent and dissatisfaction manifested in regard to their present home north of the Watab, has increased until it has become general, and pervades a majority of the tribe.

"I cannot endorse all that has been promulgated by the public press in regard to the government not having acted in good faith with the Winnebagoes in providing them a home, as stipulated in the third article of the treaty of October 13, 1846. Their present home was selected by an Agent of their own selection, whose action they in council ratified and adopted as their own; and if they have not found said home in all respects suited to their habits, wants and wishes, blame cannot justly be imputed to the government; and certainly the disposition recently manifested by the department to accommodate and satisfy those Indians, and the liberal offer made to extend their southern boundary to Sauk River, ought to satisfy even the Indians themselves that the government is not disposed to oppress or wrong them. Should the treaty recently made with the Winnebagoes be ratified, they cannot hereafter say that they have not a home of their own selection, or which they have not admitted to be adopted to their habits, wants, and wishes.

"If assertions made by the public press are credited, it will be believed that the Winnebagoes are the most worthless, thieving, drunken, vagabond tribe of Indians under the protection of the government. Now, a national honor, as well as individual reputation, should be held sacred even by those Indians, I deem it my duty, as their agent, to defend them, as far as truth will warrant, against these aspersions on their character. That the Winnebagoes are intelligent as any Indians in the northwest, it is presumed no one will deny; that they are the most liberal and generous tribe in the west cannot be denied, although their generosity is frequently attributed to cowardice. It is well known to those acquainted with Indian character that an Indian's propensity to fight depends much on habit. It is the policy of the agent of the Winnebagoes in view of their interest, to discourage any disposition or preparation for war, and to encourage them to follow the peaceful pursuits of civilized life. That some few individuals among the Winnebagoes do not correctly appreciate the right of property is true, still, it is unjust that the exceptions should in this case be made the rule; and it is believed that their ability to pay for stolen property is too often, in the absence of testimony, construed into evidence that they ought to pay for it. That the Winnebagoes, like most Indians, are fond of whiskey it is admitted; still they do not own distilleries, and they do not manufacture

"fire water." If the unturtured Indian, prompted by appetite, yields to temptation which the white man, instigated by mercenary profit, lays in his path, let the white man remember that the sin will be laid at his own door, and cease to insult the degredation he has himself produced. When the efforts of Indian agents are sustained by public sentiment on our frontiers, then there will be hope of the moral reformation, improvement, and elevation of the red man.

The conductors of the press in this Territory, while publishing paragraphs calculated to make the Winnebagoes a by-word and reproach among their white brothers throughout the country, would do well to remember that Minnesota, in her infancy, owed much of her prosperity to these same Winnebagoes; that they were the pioneers; that in their path the white man followed and settled the country; that the time is not forgotten when the suspension or postponement of a Winnebago annuity payment was considered a public calamity; and that even now, the removal of the Winnebagoes from Minnesota would be considered a serious drawback on her prosperity."

Such is the present condition of that portion of the Indians who inhabited the region of country in which we now dwell, and who have scarce found rest for their feet in the land of their fathers. It is gratifying to notice that poor as their opportunities for improvement have been, they are making some progress in the arts of civilized life, and that those most familiar with their character do not despair of effecting their "moral reformation, improvement, and elevation" if the proper influences can be brought to bear on these rude sons of the forest.

The whole past history of this country affords us evidence of a satisfactory character, that unless the Indians can be civilized and enlightened, there is but faint hopes of their continuance as a people. And if it can be demonstrated that this is possible, a wide field is open for the benevolence of the American people to display itself.

That there is much prejudice in the minds of many people concerning the Indians cannot be denied. It is natural to suppose that those who have wronged and defrauded them, should try to find some excuse for the baseness of their conduct, and a convenient apology could readily be found at all times in representing the Aborigines as a people so void of humanity that no ill treatment was awarded them undeserved; hence perhaps much has been said against them on very slight proof, and many may have been satisfied to believe such statements without calling their authenticity into question. "My earliest impressions of the Indian race," says Schoolcraft in his Personal Incidents and Impressions, "were drawn from the fire-side rehearsals of incidents which happened during the perilous times of the American Revolution; in which my father was a zealous actor, and were all inseparably connected with the fearful ideas of the Indian yell, tom-a-hawk, the scalping knife, and the fire brand. In these recitals, the Indian was depicted as the very impersonation of evil—a sort of wild demon, who delighted in nothing so much as blood and plunder. Whether he had any mind, was governed by any reason, or even had a soul, nobody inquired and nobody cared. It was always represented

as a meritorious act in the old revolutionary reminiscences, to have killed one of them in the border wars, and thus aided in ridding the land of a cruel and unnatural race, in whom all feelings of pity, justice and mercy, were supposed to be obliterated. These early ideas were sustained by painted narratives of captivity and hairbreadth escapes of men and women from their clutches, which, from time to time, fell into my hands, so that long before I was ten years old, I had a most definite and terrific idea impressed on my imagination of what was sometimes called in my native precincts, "the bow and arrow race."

Where individuals are brought up with such views as the above and retain them, it is hardly to be expected that they will estimate the character of the red man very highly or cherish a deep sympathy for his misfortunes. But while we make due allowance for the effects of early training in leading them into this way of thinking it is well enough by a calm survey of the course of policy pursued towards the Indians to endeavor to persuade such to harbor more charitable views. As a people, we must admit, that they have been singularly unfortunate. Since the time the Saxon first intruded on their hunting grounds or showed his face in their councils, they have continued to decay, till scarce a shadow of their former greatness remains.

The sound of the woodman's axe frightened the deer, and the poor Indian, uncivilized and unenlightened, was compelled to retire before the footsteps of civilization, and the little intercourse they did enjoy with the whites was often productive of evil consequences. While some good men labored to instruct and Christianize them many were to be found who equally eager sought their debasement.

We are informed by historians that previous to the discovery of the northern part of our continent by whites, no stimulating drinks were known among the natives. And it is said that the first scene of intoxication took place among them, on the first interview which took place between the navigator Hudson and the Mohigan tribes. As soon as Hudson landed among them at Manhattan, he proceeded to hold a conference with some of the chiefs, and ordered a bottle of Ardent Spirits to be brought forward, of which he first took a draught himself and then passed the cup to the Indians. These contented themselves by simply smelling it; and it had passed nearly round the whole circle of the chiefs untasted, when one of the chiefs, fearing that it would be disrespectful to their white friend to return his gift, swallowed the contents. He was soon stupified from the effects, and his companions began to think he was dead. He soon recovered, however, and immediately called for more, declaring the sensation produced was delightful, and the others followed his example. Thus we see that almost the first chapter of Indian history gives us a description of a scene of that brutalizing intemperance which has brought on their race so much of misery. Dissipation and drunkenness are closely interwoven with their history since. The French traders gave them brandy for their furs. The British in their intercourse with them bribed them shortly largely with Jamaica rum and many of our enterprising citizens have doubtless realized a splendid

profit by vending the indigenous corn whiskey. We notice that in the reports of various Indian Agents and Missionaries much complaint is made of this traffic which operates powerfully in retarding the work of reform among them. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in his report of last November, used the following language in speaking of this matter:

"The traffic in Ardent Spirits with the Indians, to whom it is so demoralizing and ruinous, still actively and extensively prevails; less however within the confines of the Indian Country, it is believed, than along its borders, where there is no law, and no power on the part of the general government to restrain it. This traffic is here carried on with impunity by a set of lawless harpies, as reckless as they are merciless in the pursuit of the illgotten gains to be thereby acquired. Some years since a strong appeal was made by the head of this department to the authorities of several of the frontier states, for the purpose of endeavoring to procure such legislation on the part of those states as would tend to uproot this wide-spread evil, but without success. Hence it still flourishes in violation of all law, human and divine; the fruitful source of crime and untold misery, and the frequent cause of serious brawls and disputes upon the frontiers as well as within the Indian country. It having been found that the Indians, on the faith of their annuities, frequently obtain liquor on credit from the class of people referred to, and that they collect their 'whiskey debts' at the annuity payments, to the prejudice of the licensed and legitimate traders among the Indians, it is intended hereafter, as far as possible, to keep such persons out of the Indian country entirely, and especially at the time of the payments."

And while we have the concurring testimony of the past and the present to prove the wrongs of the red man, we have the testimony of some who have been intimately acquainted with them to prove that there is much that is noble and generous in their disposition. General Houston, who has lived among them, in one of his speeches has the following: "During the period of my residence among the Indians in the Arkansas region, I had every facility of gaining a complete knowledge of the flagrant outrages practiced upon the poor red men by the agents of the government. I saw, every year, vast sums squandered and consumed without the Indians deriving the least benefit, and the government in very many instances utterly ignorant of the wrongs that were perpetuated. Had one-third of the money advanced by the government been usefully, honorably, and wisely applied, all those tribes might have been now in possession of the arts and the enjoyments of civilized life. I care not what dreamers, and politicians, and travelers, and writers say to the contrary. I know the Indian character, and I confidently avow, that if one-third of the many millions of dollars our government had appropriated within the last twenty-five years for the benefit of the Indian population, had been honestly and judiciously applied, there would not have been at this time a single tribe within the limits of our states and territories, but what would have been in the complete enjoyment of all the arts and all the comforts of civilized life. But there is not

a tribe but has been outraged and defrauded, and nearly all the wars we have prosecuted against the Indians, have grown out of bold frauds and the cruel injustice played off upon them by our Indian agents and their accomplices."

And the same gentleman, in a late speech in the United States Senate, remarks: "Though the charge of perfidy has been made against them for ages back, I have lived for many years in connection with them, and as a strict observer, can bear testimony, that I never knew an Indian nation violate a treaty which was made in good faith, and observed by the white man. I deny any charge to the contrary, and if you probe it to the bottom, and find where the truth lies, you will see that the Indians are misrepresented; that there was circumvention in the treaty contrary to their understanding, and that it was the maintainence of their rights, and not a violation of good faith on their part, that led to any infraction. You will find that all treaties have been violated by double dealing of those who were sent to negotiate with them."

This then is the testimony of a man who has hunted with the Indians in the depths of the forest and shared the hospitality of their wigwams, and has been, moreover, a "strict observer" of what transpired around him in these circumstances.

We have incontrovertible evidence that the Indians are susceptible to civilization and enlightenment in the fact that the numbers of them are even now reclaimed from their savage mode of life, and evince clearly that in strength of intellect and goodness of heart they are not far, if any, behind their white neighbors.

It is but a short time since our government, and societies of benevolent individuals began in earnest to endeavor to civilize the tribes on the west side of the Mississippi, and we already see their efforts attended with signal success. Where, not long ago, the forest stood unbroken and untouched, large fields are now cultivated with commendable industry and skill. Streams, which lately ran in their channels unobstructed through the wilderness, are now made to give the motive power to mills and factories, to meet the demands of a population every day becoming more intelligent in what relates to the arts of civilized life. Many of the tribes supply themselves to some extent with smiths, wheelwrights, carpenters, &c., &c. There are native merchants also among the southern tribes, who shop their own products and in return receive such goods as will meet the wants of their own people. School houses and academies are in successful operation in some parts of the country, and some of their young men receive their education at collegiate institutions in the different states. Ministers of the Gospel are also settled among them and many congregations have been organized.

Among the Choctaws there are some flourishing Seminaries in which competent teachers are employed to teach the different branches usually taught in the higher schools in the States. This tribe has likewise organized a regular form of government for themselves, with a written constitution. In imitation of the United States they have three departments—legislative, judicial and executive. The laws which are enacted are regularly printed and published.

Rev. R. D. Potts in his report from Armstrong Academy last August, says: "When I look back to what this people were nineteen years ago and what they are at present, I can adopt the language of inspiration and say: 'What hath God wrought.'" And Rev. Ebenezer Hotchkin, the superintendent of Roonshue Female Seminary, remarks, speaking of temperance: "The Maine Law" as passed by that State some years ago, has immortalized that section of our country. I think that the Choctaws are deserving of some credit, for they passed the same law more than twenty years ago, and have sustained it ever since it was passed. This year another stricture has been added to this law, making it a finable offense of $3 to introduce any quantity of spirituous liquors into the nation, and on the second offense the fine is $5; and I am happy to say that these regulations are severly enforced in this vicinity.

The present chiefs in this part of the nation set an example worthy of all praise. In fact, it is disreputable to drink liquor in this vicinity. None do it except the lowest class, and these generally drink in Texas." Speaking of the church the same gentleman says: "If the question were ever put to me, what are the best means to use in civilizing and Christianizing a heathen people? I should say, without any hesitation, preach to them the Gospel of the Son of God. This is the lever that moves the whole machinery of improvement. Religion in the heart makes men temperate, and until this is gained there is but little done towards their permanent benefit."

But although much has already been done, the work is far from being accomplished; indeed, it is but fairly commenced. It is hoped, however, that the people of America will not falter in the prosecution of so glorious a design until their efforts in behalf of the Indian race are crowned with success.

CHAPTER X.

If it seems to any of our readers, that in the preceding chapters we have been digressing far from what should be the subject matter of our narrative, let them remember that in the introductory chapter this license was secured; and that in rambling from one occurrence of interest to another in a loose and disjointed way, we are simply carrying out the plan originally proposed. And indeed much of what has been related relative to the early settlement of the Mississippi valley, is, in the estimation of the writer, of too much consequence in our history, to need any apology for its appearance in a work of this character.

Having now prepared the way for relating some events more peculiarly connected with this county, we will proceed with this portion of our narrative as briefly as will be deemed advisable.

The first settlement made in the county by white people was in Burr Oak Grove in the township of Erin. Oliver W. Kellogg, a native of New York State, came to that place in 1827, and commenced making improvements. The house which he built is still standing, and is the building in which Colonel Dement's party took shelter on the occasion of their skirmish with the Indians to which we have previously alluded. The old road from Rock river to Galena, commonly known as "the Sucker Trail", went through Burr Oak Grove, and Kellogg's house was along a well known stopping place on this route. Kellogg himself only remained a year or two, after he built, and when he left, a Frenchman named Lafayette came in and occupied the premises until the winter preceding the Black Hawk war.

The next claim made in the county was by William Waddams, also a native of the State of New York, who came to the Grove which now bears his name in the fall of 1832 and built a small "claim house" on the land which he at present occupies.

Mr. Waddams did not, however, move to the Grove with his family until the spring of 1834, and then another settlement had been started at Brewster's Ferry, on the Peckatonica, about a mile and a half south of the present village of Winslow.

This, and Waddam's were at that time the only two settlements within the bounds of what is now Stephenson county, for Kellogg's place had been abandoned previous to the war, and it was not until the following year that James Timms the present proprietor came to the premises. All this tract of country from Apple river on the west to Rock river on the east was included in Jo Daviess county and called the Apple River Precinct. The nearest settlement to Waddams on the east was Rockford, and there a settlement had just been started the same year, and the Indians still continued to hunt and fish, and

raise their patches of corn along the bottom lands of the Yellow Creek and Pekatonica.

In the fall of 1834, George Payne settled in Waddams Grove on the farm at present occupied by Thomas French, and in the following summer Luman Montague, and his brother, Rodney, came into the same vicinity, where they continue to reside. As this portion of the county contained abundance of water and some excellent timber it was very soon settled or claimed. In 1835 and 1836 many settlers began to flock in from various directions. Among these were William Baker; William Kirkpatrick; William Preston; John and Benjamin Goddard; James Timms; Jesse Willet; Conrad Van Brocklin; Mason Dimmick; Levi Roby; Robert Jones; Levi Lucas and others; some of whom we will subsequently mention. Many of these first settlers were miners, some were from the eastern states, and a large proportion were "Suckers" from the southern part of Illinois who had seen the beauty and richness of the county in their Indian campaigns, and subsequently came to make their homes in the fertile valley of the Pekatonica.

We will give some account of many of these early settlers under the head of the various townships where they have resided, and the names of many will, of course, figure conspicuously in different parts of the narrative.

When we turn to contemplate the events of these early times; the character of the pioneers, and the privations and hardships they were compelled to suffer, naturally claim a large share of our attention. And it is right that posterity should endeavor to keep fresh the memory of these times, that those who stood on the vanguard of civilization and endured much for them that should come after, may have that tribute of honor conferred on them which is their just due.

The life led by most of the early settlers previous to the organization of the county, was far from being a luxurious one. No crops of consequence were raised, and even those settlers who had money plenty, often found it difficult to procure a necessary supply of provisions. The condition of indigent families at a time when a bushel of wheat cost four dollars, and a journey of forty or fifty miles to be performed before it could be ground, may be imagined. The nearest market was on the Mississippi, at Savanna and Galena, and in those days the arrival of a steamboat at either of these places was regarded as an event of so great importance as to be the talk of the neighborhood. Some of the people would hunt, but this was a very precarious method of gaining a subsistence, as game, with the exception of deer, was not then as plentiful as at present; and often the hunter would go out in the morning to shoot something for his breakfast, but be compelled to pass the whole day without a mouthful to satisfy his hunger. One of these men who was compelled to endure some of the hardships of border life, told the writer that he and a companion, who occupied a little shanty together, were often glad, in days when meat was scarce, to procure pork sufficient to grease a pancake griddle and that on one occasion his comrade and another young man, made a hearty meal on some rinds which had done service in this way, and had become green with mouldness. The same gentleman stated that

he has worked hard, improving his land for weeks together, on no better fare than Indian corn meal mixed with water. These are only extreme examples, however, and it is by no means to be supposed that so great destitution was prevalent. Still the testimony of all consulted on this matter, proves conclusively that the scarcity was felt more or less by all the farmers. But a few years wrought a change in this respect. The ground, when cultivated, brought forth crops that fairly astonished people from less fertile portions of the United States, and farmers began to raise greater quantities of grain than the limited marketing facilities they then enjoyed would enable them to dispose of profitably.

There was no grist mill built in the county previous to 1837, and as it was very inconvenient to perform a journey of forty or fifty miles to get a bag of corn ground, some of the settlers adopted a plan for preparing their corn food as simple as it may seem novel.

They would take a portion of the trunk of a tree, two or three feet in length, something like a horse block, and having kindled a fire on one end, would burn it out, as Robinson Crusoe did his canoe, into a very passable mortar. Into this they would pour their corn, and with a pestile, made by inserting an iron wedge in the end of a long stick, they would pound it until it became fine enough for use.

Their houses were constructed of logs; and at a time when there were no saw mills in the neighborhood, no door or sash factories, no cabinet ware rooms stowed with costly furniture, people had to forego the use of many of those articles of luxury, which, though giving evidence of wealth and an advanced state of refinement, are by no means necessary adjuncts to real enjoyment. They, however, found little difficulty in submitting to such privations as these, and managed to partake of many enjoyments spite of the inconveniences surrounding them. If their neighbors lived at a great distance they were generally kind and friendly when they met. If their provisions were coarse and their labor hard, they were not troubled quite so much with dyspepsia and ennui, as some of the most opulent classes in more modern times. And when they assembled together at a quilting or wedding, who will say that these athletic lads and rosy lasses, did not as joyously "chase away hours with glowing feet" as many of our beaux and belles who now meet together in more magnificent halls, exchange hosts of unmeaning compliments, talk and dance with people with whom they are not acquainted, and whom, in many instances, they either can not, or will not recognize out of the ball room. How heartless and devoid of real enjoyment are such assemblies compared to the happy party in the pioneer's hut, where all meet as friends, and where the character of the honest settler is a sufficient guaranty for the respectability of his guest. There were other inconveniences of a more serious character than poor houses and rough furniture. The population was so sparse that schools could not well be maintained, and it was seldom that many families had opportunities of hearing a sermon preached. No churches were built, and it was only when an itinerant clergyman or missionary came into the neighborhood that they had an opportunity of attending public worship. Among the first ministers in

the county was a Methodist clergyman named McCain. Father McCain, as he was familiarly called by the settlers. This good old man labored hard among the inhabitants of the frontiers, and his labors seemed to have been appreciated in some degree by the people, for on occasions when he preached they came far and near to wait on his ministry.

But although the opportunities for instruction were somewhat unfavorable at that particular time, it must by no means be inferred that the majority of the people were indifferent to such matters, or that from ignorance and stupidity they could not appreciate them. These men who came into the wilderness with the axe and gun, to clear the forest and cultivate the prairie, were neither ignorant nor inactive. The simple fact of their coming here at such a time augurs much for their adventurous turn of minds, and from the difficulties they successfully encountered, we have abundant proof of their energy and fortitude.

No one, who at the present day, visits the homes of some of these old pioneers, can avoid feeling a profound respect for many traits of their character. The simplicity of manners, boundless hospitality, and amount of general information which many of them display, elicit the admiration of the visitor; and if he be one who has been accustomed to place an estimate on men in proportion to their wealth and all that extraneous glitter so dazzling to little minds; he will there learn the absurdity of making such things any criterion of a man's importance.

But few of these early settlers have amassed a great deal of wealth. While most of them enjoy a competence, there are few if any who have been so deeply imbued with the money making spirit as to engage in speculations of questionable honesty to secure fortunes. All these men sought after was a home and independence, and it is to a class of people who came in at a later period, that we may attribute the propensity for the acquisition of gain that has long been a standing reproach. Those last came to the west for the purpose of making fortunes in an exceedingly brief space of time, and according to all accounts, seem to have been rather unscrupulous about the means employed to effect their end. To this class belonged merchants who would attend cheap sales of damaged goods in the east, and then sell them at a higher price than would yield a fair profit on a good article.

The following laughable illustration of the manner in which some of the goods were adulterated was told us by a gentleman in Freeport:

One of the early merchants had brought on a barrel of whiskey to supply his customers, and wishing to realize a fair profit, took the innocent precaution to dilute it with some good fresh water from the Pecatonica. But unfortunately in his mixing process, (as an old countryman would say) "he drowned the miller," or in other words he seemed to forget that he was destroying a quality for which whiskey is famous, that of resisting cold; for one of his customers having taken a jug full home with him, one cold frosty night, in the morning the jub was found broken and the congealed mass demonstrated but too clearly that "the hearts blood of John Barleycorn" was a minor proportion of the mixture.

One of these speculators got up the plot of a village which he located a little south of Brewster's ferry and called it Ransomburgh. The village looked very pretty on paper, and a large painting of a steamboat on the Pecatonica gave evidence of the great commercial prospects of the flourishing young city. Many lots were disposed of to people in the east, but strange to say, the progress of this village has not kept pace with some other portions of the county; and although a steamboat has been plying between Freeport and some places in the vicinity of Ransomburgh we hear no mention made of it even as a place for getting wood.

Although it is to be hoped that the number of these sharpers is on the decrease at the present day, it is yet pretty evident that a love of dollars and cents is a prevailing characteristic among many western people. To show the view which some foreigners take of such devotion to business, we take the following extracts from Mrs. Pulzky's Diary:

"Perhaps the respect of American society for the 'almighty dollar,' which makes the acquisition of wealth the aim of every exertion, may account in a great measure, for the thefts, larcenies, and forgeries, which sometimes are committed even by members of respectable families, as the register before me shows.

"The Anglo-Saxon race have forgotten to amuse themselves with trifles. You find the Merry Old England now only in poetry. Since the time of Cromwell and his Puritans the people have a gloomy cast, and the business habits of our age have destroyed the anciently gay character of the race. A sprightly Englishman or American is an exception. The dance under the Maypole, social music, and the deep feeling for the beauty of nature, so profoundly rooted in the German mind, are unknown to the American farmer. Give to a Hungarian or a German a moderate income, just enough to maintain the family; a blue sky, a green meadow, a shady tree in summer, a comfortable stove, a song and chat in the winter, and he does not care for all the riches in the world.

"The Americans, especially here in the west, have leisure to enjoy nature, no art to refine their feeling, their manners prescribe the amusements of Europe. The soul must grow weary of the tinkling of dollars of the purely material aim of their life. They long for excitement; the ladies grow nervous and work themselves into trances and visions, and cheat themselves and others."

Although foreign prejudice may have had its influence over the mind of the writer of the above extracts, we cannot deny that there is much of truth in the statements she makes, and it must be evident to any one that so long as this grasping avaricious spirit is fostered, it will only serve to retard our true progress. Besides the flagrant moral wrong of Mammon worship, it serves to hinder the progress of education. If young men grow up in the opinion that a capacity for discharging mercantile business is to be the Ultima Thule of their acquirements, and that they really have need of little or nothing more, they may make expert accountants, but what will be their capability for discharging many important duties incumbent on them as American citizens? It is, of course, necessary for business men to receive the

training suitable for their vocation, but to regard a skilful management of financial concerns as the great aim of life is a shameful prostitution of human talents.

There is little danger, however, that such views as the above will become prevailent among us. The sharpers and heartless speculators must give way before a class of citizens who are every day becoming more numerous, men of education are coming into our midst and are lending their influence to those who have all along battled for the right and we hope that our community at large will soon display much of that honesty of purpose and noble generosity which distinguished so many of the early pioneers.

CHAPTER XI.

For two years after the treaty made with the Indians, they received their annuities at Chicago before they were removed from the country, and although they never ventured on any open hostilities with the settlers, they would frequently steal provisions and commit sundry little acts of mischief to the annoyance of the white man. If detected in theft, however, they exhibited the strongest marks of fear. So great was their dread of the vengeance of the whites after the chastisement inflicted on Black Hawk and his band, that they would not dare to offer the slightest resistance, even when it was in their power.

When Mr. Waddams first came to the Grove he brought quite a large number of hogs along with him, but before he had lived there long they were all stolen from him and eaten by the Indians. On one occasion, when in search of some of his missing porkers, he visited a wigwam and actually found one of his pigs there in safe-keeping; but the cunning rogues declared that they had found the pig lying sick exposed to the cold and had carried it in the lodge to save its life.

Robert Jones and Levi Lucas also suffered a little from the peculations of these lawless children of the forest. These two gentlemen came on to the country about the same time, and were the first settlers in the present town of Buck Eye. They built a cabin on the land at present owned by Lucas about two miles north of the village of Cedarville, and here they kept, together, what might be termed "a queer looking bachelor's hall.

They settled here in January, 1836, and had just fairly established themselves in their new domicile when they were deprived of their store of provisions in the following manner:

They had gone off on an excursion of some kind leaving in their hut a considerable quantity of vension, and partridge, wild honey, tobacco and many other little valuables. Their journey occupied several days and as they were returning, and came in view of their house they were astonished to see smoke rising through the chimney, and on hurrying up to see who had thus uncermoniously intruded, they perceived an Indian stealing out from the house and taking his course through the woods in the direction of Richland creek. When they entered, judge of their mortification and anger, on finding that their savage neighbors had made a clear sweep and taken away whatever they could conveniently carry. We can imagine the looks of these two hunters, standing in a frame of mind somewhat similar to Macduff when the destruction of his castle and the murder of his family were announced to him. A day or two previous they had a plentiful supply of provisions, and a good store of tobacco, in smoking which they might be-

guile their time, and now their tobacco, honey, "all that could be found" had vanished, and even their razors were missing. Why they took the trouble to shave at that early day, when more attention was paid to the substantial and necessary, than to personal adornment, it is hard to tell; it was probably, however, more from habit and an early acquired sense of decorum than from any desire to be in the fashion.

Their suspicions at once rested on the gentleman who had taken his departure so suddenly on their arrival; and though it was getting near evening they determined to follow his trail and do their best to overtake him. They had not gone a great distance when they came up with the Indian, just as he was about shooting a turkey which was perched on a tree close by him. Jones went up to him and snatched the rifle from his hands before he had time to offer any resistance. He then leveled it at his head and ordered him to tell forthwith, where he had taken the articles which were missing from the cabin. The old Pottawatomie was somewhat intimidated, and acknowledged that his people had taken some of the articles, and said they should be restored to the hunters if they would accompany him to his wigwam about a mile distant. The wigwam turned out to be more than two or three miles off and the surprise of the two men may be better imagined than described, when they were at last issued into an encampment containing some thirty large fierce looking men together with a number of women and children, dogs, etc., which constitute the household of the Indian. They saw that their threats and violence towards the old Indian might now be easily retaliated, and the critical situation in which they were placed naturally gave rise to feelings of uneasiness; but too cunning to exhibit any of the apprehension they felt, they bodily entered the wigwam and sat down, trying to look as much at their ease as possible. Presently, the old man brought them their tobacco, telling them by signs that the other edibles were devoured, and that the razors were in the possession of some Indians on Yellow Creek who also had a hand in the pillage of the cabin. Jones, it is probable was well enough satisfied at the idea of securing this acceptable "reliquam Danaum," and making a safe retreat, but the old savage put a barrier in the way of such a consummation by relating their very unamicable interview in the forest by which means he had been deprived of his rifle and his friends of a delicious turkey. This statement was responded to by loud murmurs on all sides of the wigwam. The men began to talk in a large threatening tone, and the dogs and children, contributed in no small degree to increase the uproar. In this dilemma Jones suddenly bethought him of his tobacco, and pulling it out he cut it up into small pieces. He then distributed all he had among the dissatisfied natives and soon had the pleasure of seeing the current of their feelings greatly changed. The men were mollified, and even began to look friendly, the squaws began to smile, and Jones proceeded to make the reconciliation still more sure by starting a lively flirtation with some of these dusky daughters of the forest. When all were perfectly restored to good humor the white men took their leave, and going a little south of the Indian encampment which was on the ridge between Richland Creek and the Pecatonica, they crossed the Richland not far from the confluence of these two streams, and by the light of

the stars managed to find their way to the residence of Benjamin Goddard who at that time lived a little south of where Cedarville now stands. Here they remained all night, and in the morning accompanied Mr. Goddard to Freeport to assist in raising a new log house for Wm. Baker who with his family were at that time the only residents in this place. While they were engaged at work here, some of the Yellow Creek band of whom they had heard the night previous came loitering about, and Jones signified to them that he was aware of the depredations they had been committing, and ordered them at once to restore the stolen articles.

They pointed to the sky and assured him that as soon as the sun reached the middle of his course they would restore his property, and starting off at full speed toward their camp returned with the razors as they had promised .

Although we cannot justify the thefts and other misdemeanors committed by the savages it is well to bear in mind that their situation at this time must have been extremely pitiful. And if starvation caused them at times to forget the distinction of property, and while we condemn the offense we should, to say the least, exercise charity for the untutored offenders.

At the time of which we speak, the land in this vicinity had neither been surveyed into sections nor brought into market, the settlers therefore had no other title to the lands they occupied than the "claim" which they made on discovering a piece of ground agreeable to their choice. To constitute a claim all that was necessary was to make sure that the property thus sought after had not been previously selected by some other person, and then if there existed no such obstacle, the settler might proceed at once to set up marks on the boundaries of the land he wished to possess, and make some improvements. As a general thing those who made these claims bought the land they had improved when it came into market, but it sometimes happened that another than the first settler would enter the land and take it from him with all its improvements. But such conduct was very unpopular and brought on the offender not only the dislike of his neighbors, but in many cases severe punishment was inflicted by a lynch mob on the man who was so unfeeling as to take away his neighbor's homestead. And when we consider the labors and trials the early pioneer had to undergo to improve his land, and erect his building, when we consider that the strength of his manhood's prime was devoted to fit up a place where he might rest in peace and independence in his old age, and where his children could continue to enjoy the same blessings after he left the scene; can we wonder that not only the voice of the party injured, but also that of the whole community should rise in condemnation of the unmanly, ungenerous act of depriving him of his lands and fruits of his labor without giving him any compensation?

It did not always happen, however, that those who "jumped claims" as it was called, were really guilty of depriving their neighbor of a home or the fruit of any toil, when they took lands which he laid claim to. And in many cases such conduct was clearly justifiable. When any man or set of men, abused the claim prerogative, and by grasping after more land than they themselves required or ever would be likely to

purchase, either excluded others from settling among them entirely or else made them pay a kind of black mail to get possession of a piece of ground; the man who had the courage to go boldly and take what he knew they never could improve or purchase, in spite of their wide stretching land-marks or blackguard threats, is certainly more entitled to our praise than censure.

Some of these greedy fellows, who claimed an extent of country for miles around them against all law and reason, acquired considerable property by selling claims as it was called. They would sell off, piece by piece of their territory, causing men to pay them handsomely for land to which they themselves had no better title than an impudent claim.

The abuse of these claim regulations on both sides caused a great deal of trouble to the well disposed part of the early settlers and meetings were frequently held in various parts of the country to adopt some means of obviating these difficulties, and although the public vote was rather opposed to monopoly, it insured each settler the undisturbed possession of a pretty large farm if he wished. A meeting of this kind was held in Freeport in 1836, when a resolution was passed that the community would uphold no man in claiming more than two sections of land! Such in their opinion should be the extent of one man's farm. At the present day, although some have pretty extensive farms, we question if many homesteads can be found in Stephenson county embracing two square miles.

CHAPTER XII.

In the winter of 1836-7, at the session of the Tenth General Assembly of Illinois, an Act was passed for the organization of the counties of Stephenson, Boone and DeKalb. We copy it from the following:

"Sec. 1. Be it enacted by the people of the State of Illinois, represented in the General Assembly, That all that tract of country within the following boundaries, to-wit: Commencing on the northern boundary of the State where the section line between sections three and four, in town twenty-nine north, range five east of the fourth principal meridian, strikes said line, thence east on the northern boundary of the State, to the range line between ranges nine and ten east, thence south on said range line to the northern boundary of Ogle county, thence west on the northern boundary of Ogle county to and passing the northeast corner of the county to the line between section thirty-three and thirty-four in township twenty-six north, range five east, thence north to the place of beginning, shall form a county to be called Stephenson, as a tribute of respect to the late Colonel Benjamin Stephenson.

Sec. 2. An election shall be held at the house of Wm. Baker in said county, on the first Monday of May next, for one sheriff, one coroner, one recorder, one county surveyor, three county commissioners and one clerk of the county commissioner's court, who shall hold their offices until the next succeeding general elections, and until their successors are elected and qualified; which said election shall be conducted in all respects agreeable to the provisions of the law regulating elections. Providing that the qualified voters present may elect from their own number three qualified voters to act as judges of said election, who shall appoint two qualified voters to act as clerks."

By the conditions of this Act, the counties of Stephenson and Boone continued to form a part of the county of Jo Daviess until their organization, and they were also afterwards to be attached to Jo Daviess in all general elections until otherwise provided for by law.

In accordance with this Act the first term of the county commissioner's court was held at the house of William Baker on the 8th of May, 1837. The following gentlemen were present and proceeded to qualify each other according to law for their respective offices. The commissioners were L. W. Streator, Isaac A. Forbes and Julius Smith. William Kirkpatrick was appointed sheriff and O. H. Wright commissioner's clerk. Mr Wright also gave in his bond for the office of Recorder. The court then proceeded to lay off the county into Electorial Precincts, and made the following divisions for that purpose which we take as we find them recorded:

"Commencing at the northeast corner of the county and running south six miles, thence west nine miles, thence north to the State line, thence on the line to the place of beginning. Known by the name of Rock Grove Precinct.

Silver Creek Precinct commences at the southeast corner of Rock Grove Precinct, and runs south to the south line of the county thence west on the line seven miles, thence north striking the line of Rock Grove Precinct, thence east to the place of beginning.

Brewster's Precinct commences at northwest corner of Rock Grove Precinct, runs south six miles, thence west eleven miles, thence north to the State line, thence east to the place of beginning.

Central Precinct commences at the northwest corner of Silver Precinct, running south five miles, thence west thirteen miles, thence north to the southwest corner of Brewster Precinct, thence east to the place of beginning.

Waddams Precinct commences at the northwest corner of Brewster's Precinct, running south to the south line of the county, thence west on the county line to the west line, thence north on the line to the north line of the county, thence east to the place of beginning."

Freeport Precinct, commencing at the southeast corner of Central Precinct, running south to the south line of the county, thence west to the east line of Waddams Precinct, thence north to the south line of Central Precinct, thence east to the place of beginning."

Jonathan Cora, J. B. Blackamore and Eli Frankenberger were appointed judges of election for Rock Grove Precinct.

For Brewster, L. R. Hull, John M. Curtiss and N. C. Ransom.

For Waddams, John Garner, Wm. Waddams and Othniel Preston.

Central, Ira Jones, Levi Lucas and Alpheus Goddard.

Freeport, Seth Scott, A. M. Preston and L. O. Crocker.

Silver Creek, Horace Colborn, Nelson Salsburg and Philo Hammond.

At the same meeting the oath of office was administered to Frederick D. Bulkley as county surveyor, and also to Lorenzo Lee as coroner of the county.

At this time there were but a few families in Freeport, and indeed the whole county could muster no more than eighty-four voters.

In June, the commissioners appointed by the State to locate the county seat, made the following report:

We, the Commissioners appointed by the Legislature of the State of Illinois, to locate the county seat of Stephenson county and State aforesaid, have located said seat of justice on the northwest quarter of section thirty-one in township twenty-seven north, range eight east of the 4th Principal Meridian, now occupied and claimed by Wm. Kirkpatrick & Co., William Baker and Smith Gilbraith.

Whereunto we have set our hands and seals this twelfth day of June A. D. 1837.

(Signed) V. L. Davidson;
Isaac Chambers.

At a meeting of the commissioners court held in Freeport, September 4th of the same year, Wm. H. Hallenback was appointed and

duly qualified for the office of Clerk of the Court. Among the proceedings of this court during the year, we notice the appointment of viewers of roads, from Freeport to Savanna, from Freeport to Rock Grove, etc. Licenses were also granted to several individuals to keep ferries across the Pecatonica. We find that on the 6th of December, T. J. Turner, who at that time worked at the carpenter business, made an agreement to build the county court house according to certain required specifications, and about the same time he also made a contract to build a log jail for the use of the county.

In the spring of 1837, Dr. Thomas Van Valzah bought the claim of the present village of Cedarville from John Goddard, and in the course of the summer he erected a grist mill, the first in the county. A few saw mills had by this time been in operation, and the building facilities as a consequence was greatly increased. Indeed in many of the cabins first erected, it was impossible to find a board in the entire structure. In some the walls were of logs, light was admitted by a crevice or through oiled paper, the floor was hewn with the axe, and if the occupants managed to find among the boxes containing their goods, a sufficient amount of sawed lumber to make a door, they considered themselves peculiarly fortunate.

The first circuit court was held in Freeport on the 26th of August, 1839. Hon Dan. Stone the Judge of the sixth Judicial Circuit of Illinois, presided. Our highly esteemed citizen, John A. Clark, was the first clerk of the court, and continued to occupy that place in connection with the recorder's office until a very recent period. Hubbard Graves, Esq., was the sheriff, and John C. Roby and H. Wm. Hollenback, deputy sheriffs. The following gentlemen were grand jurors: John Howe, Luther Hall, Samuel F. Dodds, Levi Wilcoxin, Joseph Lobdell, Pells Manny, A. P. Watson, Alonzo Denio, Levi R. Hall, Robert Barber, Newcomb Kinney, Jonathan Corey, Phillip Fowler, Thomas Craine, Loring Snow, Eldridge Farwell, Giles Pierce, D. W. C. Mallory, Job S. Watson, J. R. Blackamore, Thompson Wilcoxen, Edward Marsh, Alpheus Goddard.

We find by the census of 1840 that this county then contained 2,-800 inhabitants, considerable less than the population of the town of Freeport at present. There were but ten schools where a little more than 170 children received instruction; and but five professional men. There were also at that time five grist mills and nine saw mills, within the limits of the county.

Settlers continued to come in, but as the communication with the east was at that time rather limited, there was none of that enthusiasm manifested among eastern people, to settle and cultivate our rich prairies which is evinced at the present day. There was nothing to induce a hasty settlement. There was no lake or navigable stream around our borders, there was no mineral land of any consequence within our boundaries, and although Stephenson county offered the emigrant a healthy atmosphere, an abundance of pure water, and a soil unsurpassed for its richness, it was for many years regarded as in truth it was too remote from market to make farming an advantageous pursuit. The consequence was that many people would prefer settling on

the rough bluffs and unhealthy bottoms of the Mississippi, and other streams, and when in these localities, the impure water and still more pernicious air of the swamps, would give them ague and fever, and in many cases also destroy their cattle; they would gather their efforts together, and on their return to the east, spread an evil report of the country which their own cadaverous expressions of countenance would only too well confirm.

There was one advantage which this county enjoyed over the mining region west of us. If there was not much encouragement offered to men of adventurous turn of mind, there was the less inducement for that class of drones, or rather harpies, commonly known as gamblers or blacklegs, to take up their abode in this vicinity. Here there were poor prospects of obtaining a living in any other way than by close industry. Yet, as is usually the case in new countries, many came here who were far from being strenuous advocates of law and order, and the peculiar condition of a country, where justice courts were not so numerous nor so well conducted as at present, made it a matter of no difficulty for them to succeed in some of their villainous plans.

For a long time the inhabitants of the northern part of the State were troubled by a gang of horse thieves, who had accomplices on the west side of the Mississippi, and managed so well that it was very seldom they could be detected. And many of the people were in a great measure indifferent, about delivering these rogues up to justice, for in case of a trial the accused generally managed in some way or other to procure their acquittal. When, therefore, any of these gentry were captured, their punishment was often awarded by lynch law, and it was without scruple carried out to the full extent of the sentence.

Sometimes the settler would shoulder his rifle and start in pursuit, and if he encountered the spoiler of his goods, would proceed to a settlement of differences in a more summary way than the course pointed out by law.

A man residing near Fox river, who owned a very valuable pair of horses, discovered one morning that one of them was missing—was evidently stolen. He immediately mounted the remaining horse, took his trusty rifle on his arm, and simply remarking that "if he found the thief he never would inform on him," he started in pursuit. He directed his course down the river in the direction he supposed the robber had taken; and after going some distance he discovered a horseman coming up the river side on the opposite bank. He at once recognized his own animal, and halted until the other would come opposite; when, leveling his gun he brought the robber to the earth. The other horse, attracted by the neigh of his mate, immediately swam the river to his master, who, satisfied with regaining his property, made no post mortem examination, but quietly took his way homeward.

Conrad Van Brocklin, of the town of Florence in this county, came near losing a fine pair of horses by some of these thieves. With an audacity that seems surprising, two rascals undertook to take them away in the day time from their pasture near Mr. Van Brocklin's residence. He and his neighbor Mr. Dimmick, happened to see the thieves

starting with the horses and gave chase. The villians, however, had got a good start, and but for one circumstance would easily have secured their booty. One of Van Brocklin's horses had a peculiar dread of crossing a stream of water, and a stranger could not make him attempt it, and as the strangers had no bridles on the horses it made the matter still more difficult. At the first stream, therefore, this horse came to a dead halt, and the thieves in their anxiety to secure both, continued coaxing him until their pursuers came within sight. They then abandoned both horses and took refuge in a swamp near by, and while Van Brocklin and Dimmick were parleying about the most feasible method of surrounding them, it began to grow late, and in the night they effected their escape.

Samuel Smith of Lancaster township, lost two horses, which he concluded had been taken by the gang, and transported to the west side of the Mississippi. But Hugh Mack, who resided near the mouth of the Pecatonica, was too shrewd about following trails to allow a gang of horse thieves to outwit him. Some fellows stole his horses and started up the Pecatonica, into Wisconsin. Mr. Mack followed them and traced their course until he overtook them near Mineral Point, and recovered his property. So close was this gentleman's observation that he even recognized the hair of his own horses, where little tufts of it had adhered to the bushes and brambles through which they passed.

Such scenes of robbery and violence are now of rare occurrence in our western country. Thanks to a kind Providence, we enjoy greater security, both of property and life; and the man accused of crime has a right to a fair trial, in accordance with good order and justice.

From 1840 until 1850 the different villages throughout the County of Stephenson continued to advance in growth, but not with so great rapidity as of later years. During this time many of our first farmers came into the county, men who are truly an acquisition to any district of country. The majority of these are from the State of Pennsylvania, and the emigration from the rock ribbed hills of that old State is constantly on the increase. Although not remarkable for enterprise, and what is generally called "public spirit," they are a steady, honest, industrious class of people, and are, on this account, of great benefit to the community around them. If they do not start many new projects, or enter into heavy speculations, neither do they run a risk of failure with all its concomitant evils. If they do not canvass the county previous to elections, and make themselves hoarse delivering stump speeches, neither will they spend their time fighting about the loaves and fishes of public offices. Such men will seldom venture beyond their means for the sake of making a display; and often, the traveler is astonished at beholding a plainness, which proceeds more from an utter indifference to anything like ornament, than from any pecuniary disability.

The first newspaper was published in this county on the seventh of November, 1847. This was the Prairie Democrat. Our distinguished citizen T. J. Turner, who was at that time member of Congress from this district, took an active part in starting the publication of this sheet. Indeed had it not been for his exertions it is not at all probable the paper would have seen the light until a much later day.—When

the editor S. D. Carpenter required between four and five hundred dollars to enable him to commence operations, Mr. Turner advanced about four hundred dollars out of his own pocket, and used his influence to raise the remainder among the friends of the undertaking throughout the county.

About a year after, the Freeport Journal the organ of the Whigs, was started by Grattan and McFadden. Of both of these papers we will speak at farther length in our chapter on Freeport.

In one of the numbers of the Prairie Democrat for January, 1848, we find the following extract from the pen of a correspondent of the Madison Express. It is a description of Freeport and some of the country at that time; and to those who take pleasure in looking back to the several steps of the progress of this place it may not be uninteresting.

"Freeport is the county seat of Stephenson County, and situated twenty-eight miles west of Rockford, on the Chicago and Galena road; and also on the line of the contemplated Railroad. Although it cannot boast of its beautiful appearance (there having been but little taste displayed in the improvement thus far) it can truly boast of the immense business done there. The traveller who merely passes through the town, has no adequate idea of the great business of the place.

The first habitation built by a white man, was a log cabin in 1836, which yet stands; now there are about a dozen dry goods stores, two drug stores, a large number of groceries, with numerous mechanics of almost every kind and description.

The merchants seem to be doing a very heavy business, and many of the establishments have the appearance of doing a regular whole sale business. It is wonderful to witness the piles of goods which are brought here; and yet, I am told, that the demands of the market are barely supplied, even with so numerous and extensive stocks of goods. The Picatonica river runs near the village, and a permanent dam has been built across the river at this place. A saw mill is already in successful operation and a grist mill is now being constructed.—The walls of the building, which are of stone and brick, are up, and the roof is completed. It is of good size and will be set to running early in the summer; and it is expected that another of much larger dimensions will be built next season. The water of this river is sufficient to propel any amount of machinery; and I have no doubt but Freeport, will, at no distant day, rank high as one of the wealthiest and most business inland towns in the great west.

The right principle seems to have prevailed here. There has been no attempt made to rush the village ahead beyond the actual wants of the country; consequently the means of the inhabitants have not been exhausted in useless show, the result of which is always attended with revolutions; but the business and improvements have been in accordance with the actual demands of the county which renders the business complexion of the town healthy and sound.

Since I have been here, I have been about the county considerably, and I have become well convinced that it is well deserving of the high reputation it has already attained of being one of the very best counties

in the State. From Rockford to this place the road passes through one continous prairie, with the exception of a small grove about one mile in length. The prairie is quite rolling in many places amounting to hills, with an uncommon rich and fertile soil. There is in this county less waste land, on account of sloughs or marshy places, than in most prairie countries with which I am acquainted; yet the land is admirably well watered. I noticed nearly every mile a small clear creek, wending its way through the prairie towards the Picatonica.—These creeks I am told originate in springs back in the prairie; the water is always clear and pure, and the streams are never dry. The banks of the creeks are usually high, and the land is perfectly dry on either side to the water's edge. On the north side of the Pecatonica river is a heavy body of timber; the best growth I have ever found in the State. It is mainly oak, but in many places we find great varieties of excellent timber. I have noticed several beautiful sugar bushes on the banks of this river. The population of this county is now supposed to be about 10,000 and is rapidly increasing. The amount of wheat raised in this county the past year is estimated at 300,000 bushels. This talks well for a county which has been settled but a little over ten years."

Should it be the fortune of the writer of the above, to visit our beautiful county at the present time, he would consider our progress for the last five years, far more astonishing than any time previous. Railroads which were then contemplated are now completed. The beautiful, well watered prairies which were then a wilderness wild, are now dotted over with thriving farms; and the catalogue given of our mercantile men would look small in comparison with the business directory of our thriving young city.

In the fall of 1849, in accordance with a law passed the winter previous by the State Legislature, a County Judge and other officers were elected. George Purinton, who is one of the oldest members of the bar in the county, was elected Judge, G . W. Andrews and Lewis Gibler Associate Judges, William Preston, also one of our old and highly esteemed citizens was the County Clerk, and the present Recorder J. B. Smith held the office of School Commissioner.

The year following the county was divided into townships, in accordance with the law providing for that mode of organization.

We must not however confound these fifteen townships for the purposes of town government, with the surveyors townships of six miles square into which this western country is subdivided. For many reasons it would have been more convenient if these had coincided as nearly as possible; but it seemed otherwise to the commissioners appointed for the purpose of arranging the matter, and to some towns they gave more than six miles square and to some less. West Point Township, for instance, was so small that there was not a sufficient number of inhabitants to transact the necessary town business, and it had consequently to be enlarged.

The following is the list of townships and their several boundaries according to the report of Erastus Torry, R. Foster and Levi Robey the commissioners:

Rock Grove.—The east half of Fractional Township No. 29 of Range No. 8; and Fractional Township No. 29 of Range No. 7; and Sections one to six, inclusive of Township No. 28 of Range No. 9.

Oneco.—The west half of Fractional Township No. 29 of Range No. 8; and Fractional Township No. 29 of Range No. 7.

Winslow.—The Fractional Township No. 29 of Range No. 6; and the east half of Fractional Township No. 29 of Range No. 5.

West Point.—The east half of Township No. 28 of Range No. 5.

Waddams.—Township No. 28 of Range No. 6; and the west half of Township No. 28 of Range No. 7.

Buck Eye.—Township No. 28 of Range No. 8; and the east half of Township No. 28 of Range No. 7.

Rock Run.—That part of Township No. 28 of Range No. 9, south from Section No. 1 to No. 6 being sections No. 7 to sections No. 36 inclusive and the north half of Township No. 27 or Range No. 9.

Freeport.—That part of Sections No.'s 30, 31, 32 and 33 lying south of the north bank of the Picatonica river.

Lancaster.—That part of Township No. 27 of Range No. 8; and that part of Township No. 27 of Range No. 7 lying north and east of the Picatonica river.

Harlem.—That part of Township No. 27 of Range No. 7 lying south and west of the Picatonica River.

Erin.—Township No. 27 of Range No. 6; and the east half of Township No. 27 of Range No. 5.

Loran.—The east half of Township No. 26 of Range No. 5; and Township No. 26 of Range No. 6.

Florence.—Township No. 26 of Range No. 7.

Silver Creek.—Township No. 26 of Range No. 8; and that part of Sections No. 33, 34, 35 and 36 lying south of the Picatonica River.

Ridott.—Township No. 26 of Range No. 9; and the south half of Township No. 27 of Range No. 9.

In 1850, according to the census reports, there were 11,666 inhabitants in the county. There were fifty common schools and two private schools, furnishing instruction to about two thousand children.—there were but four churches built at that time in the county; there are now eight in Freeport alone.

There were 76,343 acres of land improved leaving a balance unimproved of 122,319 acres. The cash value of farms was estimated at $1,889.550. The value of farming implements $107.620. The number of bushels of wheat raised was 228,267; of Rye, 1,507 bushels; Indian corn, 303,285 bushels; oats, 227,310 bushels; barley, 4,444 bushels.

There were also 16,023 tons of hay and 443 bushels of clover seed.

At a time when farmers were obliged to take their produce upwards of a hundred miles over the worst roads imaginable to a market where they could dispose of it for what would seem now a pitiable price; this part of the western country did not certainly offer the strongest inducements for men to engage in agricultural pursuits. To carry wheat from Freeport to Chicago, was, during certain seasons, as much as it was worth. Between the wear and tear of wagon and harness, the extra labor of both man and team, and the amount paid for tavern bills

and occasional "help" required to extricate him from the mud and mire, the teamster often found that in a pecuniary point of view, he was not much further along than if he had remained quietly at home.

Merchants were also obliged to pay very high rates of carriage for their goods and as a matter of course when they took grain or other farm produce in exchange for what they sold they were unable to allow a very extravagant price.

But after the charter for the Galena and Chicago Union Railroad had been obtained, and the work had fairly commenced the prospects of the northern counties of Illinois began to brighten. And as the road continued to advance toward the west, it seemed as if the opening of each new station gave a stronger impulse to the business of this country. The farming community and residents of the various villages well aware that they were advancing their own interests, contributed as much as their means would well allow to assist in carrying on this enterprise; and the people of Stephenson County were not backward in proving the deep interest they took in the completion of the project.

To give the reader some idea of the feeling manifested we give the following notice of a Railroad meeting held in Freeport on the 14th of June, 1850, as we find it in the Prairie Democrat.

"On the 14th inst. a very large and enthusiastic Railroad meeting was held at the Court House. J. H. Adams Esq. of Cedar Creek mills, Chairman, and Charles Betts of Freeport, Sec'y. Spirited addresses were made by Messrs. Ogden and Turner of Chicago, setting forth in the most forcible light the business relations and financial affairs of the Road up to the present time; also, its future prospects, and the necessity of the early completion of the second division and of the necessity of further subscriptions in stock &c. Stephenson county has only been counted on for about 20 or $25,000 at most, but we learn, that through the indomitable perseverance of those energetic men, Messrs. Holland and Robertson, of Rockford, and D. A. Knowlton of Freeport, the subscription of stock for the second division of the Road has already reached to near $40,000!! with a fair prospect of increasing it to $50,000 or more!! Hurra for Stephenson! Let the cars come."

But operations were so delayed on this Road that the cars did not arrive until about the 1st of September, 1853.

It will convey to the reader some idea of the increase of business on this road as it progressed Westward, when we compare the earnings of the fiscal year ending April 30th, 1853, with the year which preceded it. During the last mentioned period the amount earned was reported to be $211,067.67. The next year, when the road had reached Rockford the amount was $473,057.61. Thus making an increase of $261,-989, while the increased length of track was only twenty-eight miles. For the one year the earning per mile of track was $3,408,23, and the amount for a mile the next year was $5,355.59. For the year ending April, 1853, the quantity of wheat shipped eastward on this road was 512,344 bushels; Flour 39,661 barrels; Oats 640,604 bushels; Corn 469,859 bushels; Barley 102,389 bushels; Potatoes 12, 304 bushels; Butter 932, 830 lbs.; Provisions 2,328,510 lbs.; Pork 9,795,600 lbs.; Grass seed 4,374 bushels; Hides 447,460 lbs.; Wool 247.370 lbs.; Mill

stuffs 1,217,020 lbs.; 401 car loads of Animals; Sundries 3,963,360 lbs.; Whiskey 6,933 bbls.; 308 cords of wood; 19,598 reams of paper; 1,176,-870 feet of lumber; Lead, 893,390 lbs.; Milk 3,898 gallons.

When it is remembered that our northern counties contiguous to the road furnish the principal part of the east going freight, these figures speak largely for their growth and prosperity, and we should not be surprised to find a still greater increase in the next report of the officers of the road. Since the completion of the Third Division to Freeport the amount of business done on this thoroughfare has been prodigious.

In 1851 the Central Railroad company was incorporated by the Legislature and in the spring of that year the surveys were commenced on the road. Some years previous, and shortly after the Congress of the United States had appropriated a quantity of land to this state for the purpose of a Central Railroad, an attempt was made to construct it. But after the routes had been surveyed and even a portion of the road graded, the company were compelled to abandon the project.

The present company, however, have every prospect of success. Their lands lying north along the line of the road are now far more than double the value of government land, and it is thought that this land, when brought into market, will about pay for the cost of construction. Besides, when it is completed it cannot fail to be one of the best paying roads in the western country, forming a connecting link as it does between the country on the upper Mississippi, and the Southern States. The Company were required by their charter to construct a Railroad from the southern terminus of the Illinois and Michigan Canal at LaSalle, to Cairo in the Southern extremity of the state. They were also to have a branch of their road to the city of Chicago, and another via Galena to a point on the Mississippi river opposite Dubuque in Iowa.

It was for some time thought that the latter branch would go by way of Savanna on the Mississippi on the route the former Central Railroad had been located, and the people of Freeport sent a delegation to Springfield for the purpose of having the road run this way if possible. It was finally determined that they should run through this town, and go from here to Galena on the line which had been located by the Galena and Chicago Union Company. The latter Company instead of going the whole distance to Galena as was originally their design, by this arrangement made Freeport the terminus of their road.

In January last the track was laid on about twenty-five miles of the Road west of Freeport, and the cars of the Galena and Chicago Union Company have been running over the road since that time.—A large portion of the road is graded between Warren, the present terminus, and Galena, and it is probable that by the coming fall, the cars will be running the whole distance from Cairo to Galena.—Trains have been running on other portions of this road for about a year past. In addition to these roads going through our county which are either finished or in process of completion, there are others contemplated some of which will doubtless ere long be built.

As early as 1849 the scheme for constructing a railroad from Savanna on the Mississippi to Freeport, was under discussion. After the

feasibility of the scheme was duly considered, an act was passed by the Legislature in 1851 authorizing the construction of the road.

By the conditions of this charter the Company were to run this road "from Savanna in Carroll county in an easterly and northeasterly direction, through a part of the counties of Carroll and Stephenson the route most practicable, and intersect the Galena and Chicago Union Railroad, or the Galena Branch of the Central Railroad at some point within fifteen miles from Freeport."

A company were about this time formed, but no active steps were taken to dispose of stock, or commence any operations in relation to the construction of the road until the fall of 1852, when new arrangements were made, and the books opened for subscription. So popular was the scheme, that in one day, it was said, there was $40,000 subscribed. It was considered that the road could be built for about $500,000, and the President D. A. Knowlton of Freeport, stated in his first report that of this there were about $200,000 taken by people living in or near the line of the road.

Last spring the line of the road was surveyed and located, but when the time arrived which was appointed for letting the work to contractors, it was deemed advisable to postpone operations for some time, and the work has not as yet been resumed.

Preliminary lines have also been run on the route contemplated for a Railroad from Beloit in Wisconsin, to Freeport. There is now a road in process of construction between Racine on Lake Michigan and Beloit; and when the Savanna Branch is completed, this road from Beloit to Freeport would furnish a connecting link between these two and a shorter route than any yet established be obtained between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi.

CHAPTER XIII.

West Point Township, was, at the time the county was subdivided into townships, the smallest in the county. At that time it only contained half of the surveyor's township, but subsequently it was enlarged to double the size, thus taking a slice of territory from the neighboring town of Waddams.

West Point is bounded on the north by Winslow township, on the west by Jo Daviess Co., on the south by Erin and on the east by Waddams.

The southern portion of the township is covered more or less with scattering timber, or openings, as it is commonly called. The northwest portion is a fine prairie as the eye need wish to behold, while in that part occupied by Waddam's Grove there is abundance of the finest of timber.

There is quite a number of excellent stone quarries and lime kilns through the town, and no lack of excellent water.

In the southern part of the town it is rather sparcely settled; but contiguous to Waddam's Grove there are some of the best farms in Stephenson County. There is a vast quantity of fruit raised in this vicinity, and the nursery owned by Luman Montague is considered one of the best in this section of country. Farmers here have now a good steady market in their own town at the village of Lena where there is a depot established by the Illinois Central Railroad.

As we have before intimated, William Waddams, the first settler in this town, came here in the year 1832 and made a claim where he now lives. The next who came in were George Payne, in the fall of 1834 and Luman & Rodney Montague in the year following.

We are unable to give with any degree of precision the present number of inhabitants. In 1850, before the town was enlarged there were 250 persons in all. At present there is probably more than ten times that number.

In 1851 the value of real and personal property in this township was estimated at $80,817. In the year following it was valued at $92,-832, and for the year 1853 the same was valued at $124,024.—It must however be borne in mind that the assessed value is very far from the true value of the property. Still the above will convey an idea of the ratio of increase.

Lena on the Central Railroad about twelve miles west of Freeport is the largest village in the town, and is destined we should think to become one of the finest towns in our county. Samuel F. Dodds, Esq., the proprietor of the village site, is one of the most respectable and enterprising citizens of which our country can boast. He came here in

1839, and, ever among the most enterprising, after the Central Railroad was located through his premises he caused about one hundred acres of his farm lying on the line of the road to be laid out into a town; and already its prospects are in the highest degree flattering. The site is as beautiful a location for a town as could well be selected. To the north, west and south, the wide rolling prairie affords an unbroken prospect for miles, and on the east, the suburbs of the town border on Waddam's Grove, where a plentiful supply of wood can very conveniently be procured. Water can be obtained by digging about twenty-five feet.

Mr. Dodds has taken such steps in disposing of his lots as must result in lasting benefit to the place. No Groceries or Saloons where intoxicating drink is to be sold, are to be allowed on the premises. When a lot is sold to any person and writings are drawn between the parties the following stipulation is made.

"And it is also provided (and said deed to be given as aforesaid, shall be upon condition, which condition shall be therein contained) that if at any time forever, said premises, or any part thereof, or any building, or appurtenance thereunto belonging or appertaining; shall be used or occupied, for the manufacture, sale or other disposition of spirituous liquors or intoxicating drinks, the said property shall be and become a part and parcel of the property of the School Fund of the people, for the benefit of Common Schools in the town or district in which it may be located, to be recovered by the proper officers of the school fund, and appropriated, or the avails of it, to the support of Common Schools, according to law; and this agreement, said deed, and all deeds under it shall be deemed void, except for the purpose of establishing the right of said School Fund, after due proof of such forfeiture and judgment thereon in a court of competent jurisdiction."

The Central Railroad Company have a station here, and have erected a large Freight House, Passenger house, &c. The village although but recently laid out contains about a dozen families. Many others are buying lots, and it is calculated that about thirty new houses will be erected during the present season.

They have a fine school here conducted for some time past by Miss Adelia Hyde. a teacher of high reputation. There are now three congregations who meet here for worship. At present they hold their meetings in the school house, but it is the intention to erect two new churches in the course of the summer. A large amount of money is already subscribed for the purpose of erecting a Methodist church, and the other edifice to be built by the Baptist Denomination.—The clergymen are, Rev. R. Colston, Presbyterian, Rev. J. E. Ambrose Baptist, Rev. A. Wolf Methodist. There are several other congregations organized in other parts of the township, where worship is for the most part held in school houses. In Lena the following men are at present engaged in business:

Merchants, S. H. McEathron; William Allen; J. E. Ambrose.
Lumber Yard, J. N. Clifford.
Blacksmith, Wm. Young.
Postmaster & Railroad Agent, S. F. Dodds.

Several other Mechanic's shops are now in process of building, and a Hotel keeper is very much needed in the place. There are two physicians near Lena, Dr. Pickard and Dr. Voight.

Louisa. This is a thriving young town on the line of the Railroad about two miles north of Lena. It is also pleasantly situated on the edge of the Grove. The following gentlemen transact business here:

Merchants, E. F. Clark; John P. Hoffman.

Postmaster, John Royer.

Physician, Dr. J. R. Chambers.

Manufacturer of Corn Planting Machines, Milton Satterlee.

Blacksmiths, Reuben Derr, and Franklin Satterlee.

There is a fine school house in the village.

In addition to the stores we have mentioned in the two villages above named, there are two others near the Grove, one kept by Jerry Patterson, the other by Geo. Buck. There is a Hotel kept by Geo. W. Simmons at the west point of the Grove.

Winslow Township. The first claim made in the township was at Brewster's Ferry on the Picatonica, about a mile and a half south of the village of Winslow. This claim was made by Brewster some time before Mr. Waddams' family came to the Grove. In 1834 Geo. Payne stopped for some time near the ferry, and in November of the same year, William Roby and family came and settled in the same vicinity.

In 1836 Thomas Lot built a saw mill on the present site of the village of Winslow, and not long after this the whole village site and a large quantity of land adjoining was bought by a Boston Company.

This township is bounded on the north by Wisconsin, on the south by West Point, on the east by Oneco, and on the west by Jo Daviess county Ills. It contains about twenty-seven square miles—one of the smallest townships in the county. There is but little timber in the township, but the prairie is excellent, and there are many fine looking farms in the neighborhood of Winslow village.

In 1850 the population of the township was given as 384. There is nearly as large a population now in the village of Winslow alone.—From the fact that there are no Railroads or other Public Works being constructed in, or very near this town, the increase in the value of property has not been so rapid as in some other sections of our county. For the year 1852 the assessed valuation of property here was $75,945. In 1853 the valuation was $85,109. Marketing facilities are now very favorable here. The Station at Warren Jo Daviess Co., is hard by the west side of the town, and the distance to Freeport is only 18 miles from the village of Winslow.

The village contains about forty or fifty families, and bids fair to be a place of some importance. The locality on the west bank of the Picatonica is a beautiful one and the village presents rather a neat and tasty appearance.

There are no churches built in the village, but they have a fine school house where meetings are held. There is a Presbyterian congregation here, Rev. J. N. Powell, Pastor; and a Methodist congregation, Rev. A. Wolf, Pastor.

Merchants, Richard Patterson, Ezra Wickwire, P. & J. Sweeley.
Grocer, Zeba White.
Hotels, Eli Wickwire, Samuel Gunsal.
Wagon Makers, Edward Hunt, Mills Berry and David Gould.
Blacksmiths, Eli Wickwire, Thomas Macauley.
Carpenter, Silas Sears.
Chair Shop, George White.
Cabinet Makers, James Turnbull, ——— Bowman.
Painter, John Stephens.
Shoe Makers, Alexander and Thomas Taylor, David West.
Post Master, R. Patterson.
Tailor, Josiah Hilliard.
Flouring Mill, Wickwire & Howard.
Physicians, Carver & Cutler.
There are no other villages in the township.

Waddams Township. This township is bounded on the north by Oneco and Winslow, on the south by Harlem, Erin and Lancaster, on the east by Buck Eye.

About one fourth of the land in the town is covered with heavy timber. The timber land lies principally along the banks of the Pecatonica. The high land is chiefly prairie. On the northeast side of Waddam's Grove there is some light timber. The land is quite rolling all through the township and there is abundance of excellent water.

The population of Waddams in 1850 was 1160, since then however a portion of the town has been set off to West Point. Still the increase of population has probably been sufficiently rapid to make the number of inhabitants in its present limits far exceed what we have given. The assessed value of property for 1852 was $90,459. In 1853 the value was placed at $116,559.

As early as February, 1835, Levi Roby Esqr., a gentleman distinguished for his public spirit, and who has often taken a prominent part in matters pertaining to public improvement, came into this township and settled where he still continues to reside. The same year Charles Gaffin came into the neighborhood, and about the same time Robert McConnell the proprietor of the village of New Pennsylvania, and Hubbard Graves, also came to the township.

The village of New Pennsylvania laid out by Robert McConnell, is situated on the east bank of the Picatonica, about fifteen miles north of Freeport. The location is not a very sightly one, and it certainly does not appear to be a place likely to grow into a very flourishing town. The country around it is, however, excellent land, and a person on seeing the village cannot help agreeing with the Kentuckian, who declared "that it was better calculated for a cornfield."

There are about twenty-five or thirty families here at present.
Merchants, Josiah Manny, Jacob Danihower.
Post Master, William Nash.
Harness Shop, Henry Bamford.
Wagon Maker, Peter Brown.
Blacksmiths, Solomon Rima, ——— Burkhart.

There is a fine school kept here by Chester Nash, who has been their teacher for a number of years in succession.

There is a congregation of the Methodist Denomination who hold their meetings in the School House, Rev. A. Wolf, is the minister. —About two miles south of the village , near where Mr. Robey resides there are two other organized congregations, one Lutheran, the other Methodist. Besides these, there are other places through the town where worship is held.

A short distance up the stream from the village of N. Pennsylvania is McConnell's saw mill and a little further up is Samuel Fisher's mill. At the mouth of Waddams Creek on the Picatonica, there is a post office, J. H. Manny Post Master. There is a saw mill here owned by Messrs. Sheckler and Soliday, and a manufactory for making Manny's Reapers and Mowers.

Hubbard Graves Esq., is the present Justice of the Peace in the town of Waddams.

Erin Township.—This township is bounded on the north by West Point, on the south by Loran, on the east by Harlem and on the west by Jo Daviess county. This township is admirably well supplied with wood and water. The Yellow Creek stream and numerous others of smaller size, together with great numbers of fine springs make it one of the best watered towns in the county. The surface of the ground is more rolling than in any of the other towns, and there is also a smaller proportion of prairie. The openings are, however, for the most part an excellent quality of land, and is peculiarly well adapted for the growth of wheat, large quantities of which was raised here during the past year. The wood, although covering the greater portion of the surface of the town, is not very heavy, and so sparce that the labor of clearing it off is very trifling. There are a great many stone-quarries in the different parts of the township, and there is a large amount of limestone quarried and burned for building purposes.

There are several fine mill sites on Yellow Creek within the precincts of this township, but as yet there has been no flouring mill established on any of them. There are two saw mills in the town; one on Yellow Creek, owned by John Raber, and the other on a branch of the Creek owned by William Hill.

The number of inhabitants in Erin in 1850 was 886. The value of the property assessed in the town for 1851 was $100,804. For 1852 the assessed value was $124,794, and for the past year the property is returned at the value of $168,237.

The first settlement was made in this township in 1827,—which was also the first in the county—by Oliver W. Kellogg. As we have previously mentioned, he made a claim where James Timms now resides, and then left that locality before the Black Hawk war broke out. After the Black Hawk war, James Timms was the first settler in the town. He came in 1835 and at that time his nearest neighbor was William Waddams, ten miles distant. The year following, Jesse Willet came into the town and it soon became quite thickly inhabited.—Quite a number of Irish families moved into the neighborhood prior to the

subdivision of the county into towns, and when that regulation took effect, they gave it the ancient name of their own country.

Eleroy, the principal village of the township, is situated on the Central Railroad about eight miles west of Freeport. There is also a station here. The location of Eleroy is a beautiful one. Built as it is in a grove, there are a great many shade trees, an ornament which is wanting to many prairie villages,—and there are several springs of excellent water in the very centre of the village. The surface of the ground, while it cannot be called rough or broken, is sufficiently rolling to give the place a very picturesque appearance. The farming country around the village is excellent, and the amount of business at present carried on here is quite considerable.

H. S. Jones, the first settler in the village, and who has ever since taken a deep interest in its growth, is the proprietor of a fine store, and also of the "Eleroy House" the only Hotel in the place. The other merchants are Samuel R. Matthews and James F. Harwood.

Grocer, William Woodbridge.
Shoe Shop and Gunsmith, L. Wicker.
Post Master, James F. Harwood.
Carpenter and Joiner, Hugh Badger.
Sash Factory, A. Bacon.
Tailor, Simeon Stump.
Physician, A. E. Sheppard.
Pottery, D. F. Ashbaugh.

There is at the present time a fine new school house in process of construction near the middle of the village.

Kent is the name of a small village and Post Office, also within the limits of Erin. It is beautifully situated on a small prairie about midway between Yellow Creek and Burr Oak Grove. There is a store here, kept by A. F. & J. Raber, and the Post Office is kept by A. Raber. Here, as in most of the villages throughout the county, mechanics are very much needed.

There is a Roman Catholic Chapel in this township in what is called the New Dublin settlement, in the south east portion of the town. There are no Meeting Houses belonging to any Protestant denominations, but there is preaching in the school houses through the town by different clergymen.

Rock Grove Township is bounded north by Green County, Wisconsin, east by Winnebago Co., Ill., south by Rock Run Township, west by Oneco and a part of Buckeye township.

There is plenty of excellent timber in this town.

In Rock Grove and Walnut Grove there is a great amount of valuable timber suitable for building and other mechanical purposes.—The greater part of the land in the township is prairie. Of this the prairie in the northern portion of the town is the best watered.

On the farm of E. Frankeberger, about two miles from Rock Grove village, there are some excellent springs which form the head waters of Rock Run, a stream which runs through the township of Rock Run and empties into the Picatonica. In its course, this little stream furnishes motive power for a number of mills.

On the south side of the Rock Grove there are some excellent farms, and the road from there to Oneco west, runs for seven or eight miles through an excellent farming country.

Many of these farms look, at the present time, as if they had been under cultivation for a century. They are well fenced, fine houses and barns are erected, shade trees and orchards are planted, and such an appearance of home comfort is, on the whole, exhibited, as would convey to a stranger the idea that this tract of country was settled simultaneously with some of the homes of New England.

We think, however, that the farms in the above section of country are better improved as we approach Oneco, than in Rock Grove township. The majority of the inhabitants of this township are Pennsylvanians, and of German descent. They speak the German language for the most part in their families, but can also understand English.

The value of the property assessed in the town for 1852 was $113,278, and in 1853 it had increased to $140,475.

The population of the township in 1850 was 727.

Eli Frankenberger came here in the summer of 1835, and in December of the same year brought his family to the place where he now resides.

The same fall a man named Foote came into the neighborhood, and the spring following other settlers began to flock in. Many of these early settlers have now left the country, some are dead and others as they began to feel crowded, have removed further on towards the western frontiers.

The village of Rock Grove is delightfully situated on the edge of the prairie at the south side of the grove. In 1838 Charles Cummings built a house there, which was the only one in the place until about three years ago. There are now about twenty families in the village.

Merchants—Robert Holmes, Fisher & Smeltzer.
Physician—J. A. Brenneman.
Grocer—T. Snyder.
Wagonmaker—Henry O. Frankenberger.
Tailor—L. Snyder.
Blacksmiths—Harvey Kiester, Charles Hainich.
Harnessmakers—H. and D. Bennehoff.
Hotel Keeper—Mather.
Postmaster—Robert Holmes.
Carpenters—John Kramer and Joel Frankeberger.

There is neither a church nor a school house in the village, and both are much needed, especially the former.

Two miles east of the Grove there is a church where the German Methodists hold their meetings. There is also preaching held in the school houses through the town by clergymen of various denominations. Lutherans, Baptists, Methodists, etc. At Walnut Grove there is a postoffice, Elijah Clark, P. M.

Buck Eye Township—This township is bounded on the north by Oneco and R. Grove, on the east by Rock Grove and Rock Run, on the south by Lancaster, and on the west by Waddams. This township is very amply supplied with wood and water. A portion of the

town lies on the Picatonica River and the Richland Creek, one of the principal tributaries of the Picatonica, and numerous other smaller streams, afford a plentiful supply of water both for mechanical and agricultural purposes.

There is probably one-third of the land in the town covered with timber, and this is for the most part of a first rate quality. The heaviest timber land is situated on the point between the Richland Creek and Picatonica.

On the prairie portion of the town are some of the finest farms in the northwest. The land enclosed is for the most part well fenced, and everywhere we see new and elegant farm houses taking the place of the rude log cabins of the early settlers.

The inhabitants of this town are chiefly from Ohio and Pennsylvania, and they are a people noted for their economy and industry.

As we have already stated, the first settlers in this township were Robert Jones and Levi Lucas. They settled here in January, 1836, on the premises which they at present own. In July of the same year Richland Parritt came and settled with his family on the farm north of Mr. Jones, where John Folgate at present resides. In June, 1837, Dr. Thomas Van Valzah came to the place where Cedarville now stands, and in the course of the summer built a flouring mill, the first in the county.

In 1850 the population of Buck Eye was 1271.

In 1851 the value of property assessed was $192,356, in 1852, $205,543, and in 1853, 268.461.

The price of land is at present rapidly rising.

The village of Cedarville, is next to Freeport the largest village in the county. It is beautifully situated on Cedar Creek, a small stream which rises in the town of Rock Grove, and is so abundantly supplied with the springs along its course in the prairie, as to furnish sufficient water power for a large oil mill about a mile and a half east of Cedarville, and only some five or six miles from the spring where it takes its rise; and at Cedarville there is now a large flouring mill and a saw mill on the same stream, and it is considered that at the same place there is sufficient water power for a large factory. Although the stream is not very large, the supply of water is so constant, that in the greatest drought no inconvenience is experienced. In 1840 there were a few houses built in Cedarville, but it was not until about 1846 that the village began to take a start. About this time John H. Addams built the large grist mill he at present owns.

Ever since his arrival in that place in 1844, Mr. Addams has taken a lively interest in the progress of the place, and there is no doubt that much of the improvement now manifested is the result of his liberality and enterprise.

The village now contains upwards of four hundred inhabitants, and is increasing very rapidly. The assessed value of the town lots for the last year was $17,177. Many excellent buildings are now in process of erection, and it probably will not be long until it has at least a thousand inhabitants.

There are two elegant churches in the village. One is the property of the Episcopal Methodists. The other is owned jointly by the Lutherans and German reformed.

There are six organized congregations. The names of the clergymen are:

Lutheran—Rev. G. J. Donmeyer.
German Reformed—Rev. Daniel Kroh.
Episcopal Methodist—Rev. A. Wolf.
German Methodist—Rev. N. Strassberger.
Presbyterian N. School—R. Colston.
Presbyterian O. School—Rev. J. W. Carroll.

We may as well state that here, and elsewhere, when we give the names of clergymen who preach to congregations, we do not always mean that these are resident pastors whose labors are confined to one congregation. Most of the ministers above named have congregations in other parts of the county under their charge. Mr. Wolf and Mr. Colston we have mentioned before in connection with meetings in other towns. Mr. Carroll is the settled pastor of the Old School Church in Freeport, but devotes a portion of his time to preaching in other congregations who have not a minister of their own.

They have an excellent school in Cedarville now under the charge of Mr. James Goddard, a gentleman who has had considerable experience in teaching, and sustains a high reputation where he has labored.

Physician—S. R. Bucher.

Merchants—L. W. Black, W. W. Robey, James Benson, Weigler and Shuler.

Cabinetmakers—P. Woodring, Jesse Pepperman, Kostenbader and Bollman.

Carpenters—Peter Youder, M. Coleman, P. Musser.

Wagonmakers—L. C. Gann, George Soliday.

Shoemakers—L. Cross, W. Wore, ——— Mark.

Harnessmakers—J. Thomas, Reuben Peel.

Chair Factory—John L. Lemmon.

Hotel—David Seem, proprietor.

Sawmill and Grist Mill—John H. Addams.

In 1846 a charter was obtained for a village library, and it now contains about 250 volumes, chiefly standard works. The oil mill about a mile and a half further up the stream is owned by John J. Addams, J. Montelius, Benjamin Hess and Andrew Wolf. This was started about a year ago for the purpose of manufacturing oil from flax seed. The proprietors are now making further arrangements for dressing flax also, and henceforth it is the design to carry on both branches of business. Additional encouragement is thus given to farmers in the vicinity for raising flax, as they can find a home market for the whole crop.

There is a saw mill about half a mile from Cedarville owned by George Elgin.

A few miles northwest of Cedarville, in the same township, is the village of Buena Vista. This is situated on the Richland Creek, and

contains some ten or a dozen families. They have a fine water power here, and a saw mill and flouring mill are in operation. The saw mill was commenced here by Ezra B. Gillett, of Oneco, in 1836. He sold his claim here to Philip Reitzell, some of whose family are the present proprietors.

There is a store here owned by Miller, Smith & Co.

Postmaster—James Smith.

Physician—G. C. Strohecker.

Flouring Mill and Saw Mill—F. and H. Reitzell.

Blacksmith—Daniel Grin.

Cooper—Jacob Smith.

Shoemaker—Jacob Weaver.

About two and a half miles west from Cedarville is a mill owned by Jonathan Sill.

Two miles north of Cedarville, on the road to Oneco, is a church, belonging to the German Methodists.

Lancaster Township is bounded on the north by Buck Eye, on the south by Freeport and Silver Creek, on the east by Rock Run and Ridott, and on the west by Harlem.

Here, as in Buck Eye, there is abundance of wood and water. The timber is not so heavy, however, as in the latter, but it is, if anything better supplied with water.

On one section there are no less than eight excellent springs of water. The land is rather rolling and in almost every ravine you will find a small stream.

The first settlers in this township were John and Benjamin Goddard who came with their families in the fall of 1835. In the spring following the family of Mrs. Brown came into the neighborhood, and Thomas Hathaway her son-in-law came about the same time.

About the time the county was organized, Samuel Smith, who at present resides in this township near the line of the Galena and Chicago railroad, came into this town. At that time there were but a few families residing here.

In 1850 the population of Lancaster was 835. In 1851, the amount of property in the town was assessed at $175,232. In 1852, $184,270, and in 1853, $209,851.

Within the past year the increase in the value of real estate in this town has been astonishing, and in all probability the next assessment will show an increase in a far higher ratio than the two previous years.

There are no villages in this township.

The Scioto mill on Richland Creek owned by Sutherland & Co., is esteemed one of the best flouring mills in the county.

Loran Township is bounded on the north by Erin, on the east by Florence, on the south by Carroll Co., and on the west by Jo Daviess.

The Yellow Creek runs through the town, and there is a great deal of fine timber on the north side of this stream.

On the south side of the Yellow Creek the greater part of the township is open prairie, and is an excellent quality of land.

The value of the property in this township as assessed was in 1851, $66,763; in 1852, $75,352; and 1853, $116,542. The population in 1850, was 654.

Wm. Kirkpatrick was the first white settler in this township. In 1836 he built a saw mill on the Yellow Creek at the present village of Mill Grove. While he was building his mill in the summer he had no house erected for his own accommodation, and was accordingly under the necessity of using his wagon as a sleeping room for the season. The next summer he built an apology for a grist mill which was put in operation about the time that Van Valzah completed his mill at Cedar Creek.

Mill Grove on the Yellow Creek, is a village containing about twenty families. There is a fine water power here, and a considerable amount of business carried on.

There is a distillery, saw mill, fulling mill and carding machine, all owned by Charles Waterman of Freeport.

A grist mill is in successful operation, under the charge of James Young.

There is a carpenter's shop, by Orsmus Barnes.

A postoffice was established here a short time since and James Young appointed postmaster.

It is contemplated to open a store here the coming season. There is a school house, where, in addition to the day school, a Sunday school is conducted, and where there is preaching occasionally by clergymen of various denominations.

Andrews' Mills, some three or four miles farther up the creek is a flourishing little village, and bids fair to become a place of some importance. Anson Andrews who first settled here, erected a flouring mill in 1841 and that together with a saw mill are now in operation, owned by his sons, Grant B. and George W. Andrews. James M. Moore, the gentleman in charge of the flouring mill is one of the early pioneers of this country. He assisted Kirkpatrick in building his first mill, and also assisted in constructing the one in which he is at present engaged.

George W. Andrews is postmaster. He has also a store here and appears to be doing an extensive business.

Jesse Alexander has a blacksmith shop.

There are some four or five school houses throughout Loran, and the inhabitants are making laudable exertions to erect more. There are no churches built as yet, but meetings are held in different parts of the town.

There are two physicians, Drs. White and Parker who reside about two miles west of Andrews' Mills.

Florence Township, is bounded on the north by Harlem, on the east by Silver Creek, on the south by Carroll county, and on the west by Loran. It contains exactly the surveyor's township of six miles square. In the whole area of the township there are only about 1,300 acres of good timber, the remaining part is prairie of the finest description. The wood land lies principally on the north side of the Yellow Creek, and the thickest settlement is in the same vicinity. In

the southeast portion of the town the population is yet so sparse that there are but three families in one district, embracing some nine miles. The large uncultivated prairie is rolling, and is well adapted for raising all kinds of crops peculiar to this portion of the country. There are several places on the Yellow Creek, within the precincts of the town, where it is thought there is sufficient water power for mills; but the idea is entertained by some, that by constructing dams, the stagnation of the water setting back, might be attended with prejudical effects on the health of the neighborhood.

The amount of property assessed in this town in 1851, was $69,-958; in 1852, $79,621, and in 1853, $91,504. The number of inhabitants in 1850 was 445.

Conrad Van Brocklin removed from western New York in the fall of 1835, and after taking some time to explore the country, settled here with his family, in the month of March the year following. The cabin he first built was but a little distance from his present residence.

In August of the same year, Mason Dimmick, a native of Ohio, came into the township, and the same fall Otis Love and family arrived. The next summer Lorenzo Lee came into the neighborhood, and it continued to increase slowly in population until in 1850, when the townships were organized, it contained about sixty families.

The first school was established here in 1839, in a small building belonging to Mr. Dimmick, which had been built for a smokehouse.

There is a small village on the Yellow Creek, where the stage road crosses to Savanna, consisting of seven or eight families. There is a hotel kept by E. Ellis, and a postoffice. C. Van Brocklin is the postmaster. Its close proximity to Freeport, will, however, prevent it becoming a very extensive village.

There are now in the township three or four flourishing schools, no church buildings are erected, but meetings are held in different parts of the town. The present justices are E. H. Shumway and Lorrenzo Lee.

Silver Creek Township is bounded on the north by Freeport and Lancaster, on the east by Ridott, on the south by Ogle county, and on the west by Florence. The greater part of the land in this town is prairie. On the Picatonica river there is a little timber, but the great body of the wood is in Craine's Grove, in the south part of the town. There is an abundance of water here, and the agricultural advantages, generally, are about as good as in any other portion of the county.

In 1850 the number of inhabitants here was 603.

In 1851 the value of the property assessed was estimated at $103,-799, in 1852, $127,112.

Thomas Craine, a gentleman well known in this section of country, and who was one of those enterprising pioneers who first assisted to rescue the northern portion of Illinois from the wilderness, came into this township in August, 1836, and settled in Craine's Grove, where Adam Wilson resides at present. The same winter a gentleman named Baner came into the township, and in May of the year following, Seth Scott, a gentleman well known and highly esteemed throughout the county, came to the place he at present occupies on the

north side of the Grove. There is a brewery within a short distance of the mouth of the Yellow Creek on the old State road, owned by M. Hettinger. There are one or two Methodist congregations in the town.

The Bellofunt Pottery in this town, owned by Robert G. H. McAfee & Co., is now in successful operation.

Township of Ridott—Ridott is bounded on the north by Rock Run township, on the east by Winnebago county, on the south by Ogle county, and on the west by Silver Creek.

The land in this township is chiefly prairie, the timber lies principally on the north side of the Picatonica, and this northern part of the town is very well supplied with water.

In 1850 the population of Ridott was 652.

In 1851, the value of property was estimated to be $120,749, in 1852, $135,194, and in 1853, $166,837.

The Freeport and Chicago railroad runs through the town, and there is a station established at Nevada, about six miles from Freeport.

Nevada is already a thriving little place, and bids fair to become a flourishing village. The land around it is excellent, and abundance of wood and water can be conveniently procured. A postoffice was recently established here, Wm. Wright, postmaster.

In 1836, T. J. Turner, then a young man, came into this township and built a saw mill at the mouth of Rock Run, at present owned by Ezekiel Brown. Mr. Turner, not many years after, abandoned the business of mechanic, studied law, and has since represented this district in Congress. His ability both as a lawyer and statesman, is too well known in our own neighborhood and elsewhere, to require much comment.

The same year that Mr. Turner came to Ridott, F. S. Payne, Asa Nicholls and Eldridge Farwell came into the same neighborhood. Daniel Wooton, Isaac Forbes and Ezekiel Brown were also among the first settlers in this place.

There are many items of interest connected with this township which the writer has not been able to obtain, from the fact that he was unable to find those persons who could give definite information on the points required.

Oneco—This township is bounded on the north by the State of Wisconsin, on the east by Rock Grove township, on the south by Waddams and Buck Eye, on the west by Winslow. There is abundance of water and excellent timber in this township, and if not the best, is at least among the best farming portions of the county. Along the Richland Creek there is some valuable wood, and on the road running east and west from Oneco village to Rock Grove there are some farms, that cannot easily be surpassed. Here, however, good improved farms, can be purchased for about twenty dollars per acre.

The population of the township in 1850 was 882.

In 1851 the value of property assessed was $76,270; in 1852, $87,684, and in 1853, $105,568. Property is rising in value very rapidly.

Among the first settlers in this township were Simon Davis, L. D. Van Metre, Joseph Norris, John M. Curtiss, etc.

The village of Oneco, was laid out in 1840 by John K. Brewster, a gentleman as much respected for excellent traits of private character, as he is distinguished for his enterprise and public spirit. Mr. Brewster may indeed be deservingly ranked among that select number of citizens of whom Freeport, and the community at large may well be proud. In 1838 he settled in Oneco, and after a residence of ten years in that village, removed to Freeport where he is still engaged in mercantile pursuits. At present the village of Oneco contains about thirty families.

Merchants—Joseph Herbert, J. Hoffman & Son, R. Hildebrand.
Physician—D. D. Belkamp.
Hotel—J. Snyder.
Blacksmith—L. N. Harding.
Cooper—Simon Bartlett.
Cabinetmaker—Samuel Deal.
Shoemaker—P. Bartlett.
Wagonmakers—S. Falls, N. G. Luken.
Tailor—David Ault.
Carpenters—T. Elwood & Brothers.
Tanner—Isaac Riester.
Pottery—Daniel Sanders.

There are three congregations who meet for worship in this place: Methodist, United Brethren and Baptist. The names of the respective clergymen we have not obtained.

Postmaster—David Ault.

Orangeville, or Bowers' Mills, as it was formerly called, is a thriving little village on Richland Creek about four miles south of Oneco. The first improvements were made at this place by John M. Curtis, one of the early settlers, and a gentleman who sustained an excellent character among those who knew him.

Merchants—William Waggonhals, Levi Sheckler, C. Shaffer & Frederick.
Carpenter—Daniel Duck.
Blacksmiths—Benjamin Hollman and John Lehman.
Shoemaker—A. Fisher.
Cooper—P. Billow.
Wagonmaker—H. Frank.
Machinist—D. Wann.
Cabinetmaker—D. Rieme.
Tailor—Wm. Frederick.
Sawmill and Grist Mill—John Bowers.
Physician—Dr. Ashby.

There is a church edifice nearly finished.

Mr. I. S. Job, who resides in the vicinity of Orangeville is an old pioneer. He fought with distinction in the Black Hawk war, and in this sanguinary struggle received some wounds which are still visible on his person.

Mr. Joseph B. Norris in this township was likewise one of those who served through the Black Hawk war, and from his lips the writer

received the confirmation of many of the facts narrated in relation to the war.

Harlem Township—This township is bounded on the north by Waddams, on the east by Lancaster and Freeport, on the south by Florence, on the west by Erin. This township is plentifully supplied with wood and water. The Picatonica forms the eastern boundary between it and Lancaster, and there are numerous small streams and springs scattered throughout the township.

In 1850 the population of Harlem was 444.

In 1851 the assessed value of property was $67,594; in 1852, $77,-871, and in 1853, $86,936.

The first settler in this township was Miller Preston. He came and made a claim and built a small cabin on Preston's Branch near the present Galena stage road.

The Indians were then Preston's neighbors, and although pretty friendly, were much given to little acts of peculation which gave the solitary settler considerable annoyance.

After W. Baker and a few others had settled in Freeport, whenever Miller Preston came to visit them, it was said he almost invariably took home a fresh store of provisions, well knowing that his dusky friends, the Indians, would have appropriated whatever he had left behind him.

Matthew Brightendall also came here in 1836 and settled where Mr. Buckley resides at present. The same year Philip Fowler came to the neighborhood and made a claim and settled in this town on the farm known as the Thomas farm a little west of the town of Freeport.

Rock Run Township—This lies immediately south of Rock Grove township, and is bounded on the east by Winnebago county, Ill., on the south by Ridott township, and on the west by Lancaster and Buck Eye.

The Township of Rock Run is well supplied with wood and water, and is one of the best townships in the county for agricultural purposes. The Rock Run which we mentioned above is quite a considerable stream of water, and in addition to this, there are a number of smaller streams or branches flowing from excellent springs.

In the spring of 1836 Madison Carnifix came to the place where he now resides, about a mile from Davis' store. The same year the family of Swansons came and settled a little distance from Carnifix, and D. W. C. Mallory also came to the farm where he now resides during the same season.

The year following quite a number of settlers came into the township, some of whom still continue to reside there, but many of these pioneers have again moved farther towards the west and others are at the present time selling out to new settlers from the east, and taking their line of march towards western Iowa or the wilds of Nebraska.

Among the early settlers of this township we can mention Col. Davis, whose sons now own a saw mill and a store on the Rock Run; A. McKinney, Nelson Salisbury, J. R. Webb, Ithural and Alfred Fowler and a Mr. Lowe.

There are a number of fine mills in the town, situated on the Rock Run, which is a beautiful stream.

In 1850 the population of Rock Run was 1,037.

The value of property in 1851 was $128,345; in 1852, $146,476, and in 1853, $171,242.

Freeport Township—The township of Freeport is bounded on the north and east by Lancaster, on the south by Silver Creek, on the west by Harlem. It is the smallest township in the county, its area embracing only about two sections of land. The thriving young city of Freeport even now covers the greater portion of this tract, and a portion of the adjoining township of Silver Creek has recently been laid out as an addition to the town. The Picatonica river forms the north and east boundary of the town. This, together with a number of excellent springs and a beautiful brook which runs through the thickest portion of the town, renders an abundant supply of pure healthy water. The surface of the ground is slightly uneven. The land rises from the bank of the river with a gentle slope towards the south and west, and this rolling eminence furnishes one of the most healthy and beautiful sites for a town that can be found in the northwest.

In the fall of 1835 Wm. Baker erected the first house built by a white man within the confines of Freeport. This was a rude cabin of logs—and stood on the bank of the river on the present depot ground. Mr. Baker had visited this place in 1827 about the time of the Winnebago difficulty which we have previously mentioned, and then he was so much struck with the beauty of the place and its remarkable adaption for the site of a village, that he at once claimed the greater share of the present township. His claim he visited every year until 1835, when he moved on to it and commenced to make improvements. At the time Mr. Baker came here, he had others associated with him in the possession of the claim. The firm were denominated Baker, Kirkpatrick, Gilbraith & Co.

In the spring of 1836, Mr. Baker erected a house of hewn logs beside his first cabin. This latter was for some years the only public house in Freeport.

In 1836 quite a number of new settlers came to Freeport, among the number were John Hinckle, Benjamin R. Wilmot, Philip Fowler, O. H. Wright, John Brown, etc. The first store was started in this year by the late O. H. Wright. The little building where Mr. Wright first commenced business in town stood near the mouth of the branch near where he subsequently lived. It was a frame building, but as there was then no saw mills in the country, the boards with which it was covered were split out and made smooth with a drawing knife.

A village was laid out this year on the 32d section on the east part of the present township—but they were subsequently obliged to abandon it and then they laid out that portion of the town where the principal business is done at present.

When the Indians disposed of their title to their lands in this portion of the country, the government reserved to the half-breeds certain tracts of land which they might select in whatever part of the unoccupied territory they might choose, and frequently through their own shrewdness or that of their advisers, these people made selections which turned out to be of considerable value.

As soon as it became known that Baker and his friends had laid out the plan for a town, one of these half-breeds, Mary ———— through her agent Nicholas Baldwin, located her claim on the section of land above mentioned, and they were constrained to move their stakes unto the next section. When the time arrived for setting the stake for the county seat, Baldwin and his friends were not allowed a hearing when they sought to have the county seat established in the village first laid out. And shortly after a number of the settlers accompanied them to the borders of the county, and after sundry admonitions to the effect that they must not again show their faces in Stephenson county, on pain of hard usage, they were dismissed.

This beautiful portion of our township, since known as the Indian Float of Reserve, continued to lie wild and unimproved until quite recently. Within the past year John A. Clark and some other gentlemen have succeeded in obtaining a title to this land. A portion of it has been laid out into a town and called the Winnesheek Addition to Freeport; and from the nature of its situation it must shortly become one of the most thriving portions of the town.

In 1837 when it was determined that this would be the county town, the place began to fill up rapidly. Among those who came in this year, may be mentioned Hiram G. Eads, James Fowler, Michael Reel, Julius Smith, John A. Clark, William Hollenback, L. O. Crooker, Dr. Hunt, Samuel Davis, I. C. Stoneman, etc.

Of the houses erected this year some few are yet standing. The house at present occupied by William Oyler as a grocery at the corner of Galena and Van Buren streets is one of these. Another stands at the lower part of town near Wright's barn. One of the small buildings on the south side of the public square, lately owned by Hon. S. B. Farwell, and which was pulled down recently to make room for a larger edifice, was built during this year. This little dwelling was used for some time as a court house. Here the first Commissioners Court was held, and here was held the first law suits before the newly elected Justices of the Freeport Precinct.

Some of these early lawsuits were conducted in a manner that would appear to us at present strikingly novel, to say the least. We will mention one as a memorable instance of the way such matters were sometimes conducted.

When the day of trial arrived, it was somewhat late before the jury could be gotten together, and things in readiness to proceed with the cause, and by the time the testimony was heard and the jury began to consult in relation to their verdict, it began to grow dark. In the meantime the defendant had brought a quantity of whiskey into the proximity of the court house, and when the matter was whispered in the court, first one juryman and then another would steal out, and after taking a hearty pull, return to their deliberations. The result was, they did not come to a very speedy agreement, and by the middle of the night, the majority of them became, if not properly drunk, at least too far gone to balance testimony with cool heads, or attend to any nice legal distinctions—and thus the whole night was spent. The Justice and Constable were also unable to pass through the ordeal un-

scathed, both fell completely under the power of Bacchus for the time, and it is said the jurymen were delighted by a spirited argument carried on between these functionaries as to which had the greatest amount of power, etc. When in the morning the case was decided, the poor justice was so excessively worried and fatigued with his night's labors that, in what at the present time would be regarded a most unaccountable fit of abstraction—he paid some of the jurymen two or three times over.

The stately decorum and regular proceedings which characterize our courts of justice, now affords a strong contrast to such scenes of drunken lawlessness, and we may well be thankful that much of the wild recklessness among a certain class, is ruled down and kept in check by a healthy, moral and religious influence, which, it is hoped, is every day becoming stronger.

In 1837 there were quite a number of houses erected, and although the greater part were of small dimensions, when we consider the enormous price paid for lumber it is almost a wonder that so much was done in this way. Some of them were under the necessity of paying at the rate of $32 per thousand for oak lumber of a medium quality.

At that time it was not so difficult a matter to purchase town lots as at present. William Hollenback, who at present resides near Craine's Grove in the township of Silver Creek, and who was here at this early day, informed the writer that he sold ten acres of land in what is now Knowlton's addition, in the suburbs of Freeport lying south of the German Lutheran church, for a stove and ten dollars in money. Small building lots on the same premises are now probably worth two and three hundred dollars each.

In 1838 H. Eads built the old hotel which stands at the corner of Stephenson and Liberty streets, opposite Hunt's large warehouse and known of late as the Temperance House. Here Mr. Eads opened a tavern and it was long a hotel of considerable importance.

This same season John Montgomery and A. Wiley built a house on the opposite side of Stephenson street from the Temperance House and a few doors below the store of J. A. W. Donihoo, here they opened a grocery and provision store, one among the first established in the place. Elijah Barritt also opened a store of a similar description. When we consider that at that early period the cost of transportating goods was a very difficult matter from what it is at present it will not seem so very surprising to hear of the enormous prices exacted for goods. The merchants got many of their goods from Galena and it not unfrequently was a hard day's work for a team to take a load from there to Freeport. We have already stated that O. H. Wright had the first regular store in Freeport, the next who opened a store where a general assortment of goods could be procured was L. W. Guiteau, a gentleman who is well known in Freeport and the surrounding country and highly respected. Mr. Guiteau opened his store in the fall of 1838 in a house which still stands at the corner of Galena and Liberty streets close by the freight house of the Galena and Chicago Railroad Company.

Mr. A. B. Guiteau came here the same year and started a store at Brewster's Ferry. The goods brought out by Messrs. Guiteau were the first fresh stock of goods brought from New York to this place.

A. B. Guiteau after staying a few months in the country went back to New York State where he continued to reside until recently, when he removed here and commenced improvements on Guiteau's addition to Freeport. This is one of the pleasantest portions of the whole town and will very soon be covered with buildings.

In the spring of this year James Barr who has since removed from here to California, opened a tavern in the building now occupied by William Oyler as a grocery to which allusion has already been made.

On the 4th of July Mr. Barr gave the first public dinner given in the town "and" said the gentleman who related it to the writer "the best one." The people flocked in to this fete from all parts of the country, and after listening to an oration about three hundred sat down to dinner in a new barn which then stood at the corner of the public square where the "Pennsylvania House" stands at present. The barn is still in use as one of the outbuildings of the "Freeport House."

In the winter of 1837-38 a school was kept in Freeport by Nelson Martin, brother of Dr. Chancellor Martin. This is the first school of which the writer has heard mention made. Dr. C. Martin was the first physician in town. He commenced his practice in the county in 1837 but did not open his office in Freeport until a year or two after.

The first clergyman was Father McCain, a Methodist minister, to whose zeal in the doing of good and excellence of character we have before alluded in our narrative. After the court house was erected it served as a church for all denominations and was used by Methodists, Baptists and Presbyterians until they were in circumstances to erect meeting houses for themselves.

In the winter of 1837-38, Thomas Craine, who then lived at Craine's Grove, carried the mail from his house, which was then a tavern on the old State road to Galena, to Freeport in his coat pocket. Such an arrangement as that contrasts rather forcibly with the present state of things about our Freeport postoffice, where several clerks are kept busy by the press of business and the labor constantly growing greater in a fast increasing ratio.

In 1840 the population of the town was 491 and from that time until about 1850 the growth of the town was slow—that is slow in comparison with the progress of the last three or four years. There was very little to induce a hasty emigration. It was an inland town, and those iron bands which conquer space and make a speedy transit from one part of the country to the other, a matter of little difficulty, had not yet extended in this direction. Good farming country there was then, as now, around the town in every direction and the business men of the town shared the good success of the farmers. But the agricultural class were fewer and less able to patronize merchants and tradesmen than they have since become. Many of these, however, who came in at this period have secured large fortunes from the as-

tonishing rise of property within a few years back, and thus have obtained some remuneration for the privation and hardships of pioneer life.

Hon. S. B. Farwell, Hon. George Purinton and M. P. Sweet, Esq. were the first who commenced the practice of law in the town. T. J. Turner also began to practice at an early day. Among those who came into Freeport shortly after the organization of the county are D. A. Knowlton, O. W. Brewster, A. T. Green, C. Waterman, S. D. Knight and many others who now reside in the place.

In 1847 the first newspaper was started in Freeport. This was the Prairie Democrat. This paper was started, as we have previously intimated, through the instrumentality of Hon. T. J. Turner who was then the Representative in Congress from this section of the country. Stephen D. Carpenter had formerly conducted a paper in Pennsylvania, The Girard Free Press. He came highly recommended to Mr. Turner, and that gentleman and many of his friends of the same political party assisted in giving the paper an advantageous start.

Mr. Carpenter when he first came here seems to have been impressed with the idea that this town was destined at some future day to be a place of considerable importance. In his first number speaking of the reasons why he saw fit to commence a paper in Freeport, he says:

"We came to the western country for the purpose of securing a permanent location. Various were the means of information both by personal views and friendly communications, to learn the advantages that many towns north of the Illinois river presented. But none gave us the satisfaction desired save Freeport. We were attracted thither by the peculiar location and advantageous situation of Freeport, being a fair business distance from Galena and Chicago—with plenty of water power for all practical purposes—a soil and climate unsurpassed by the most fertile plains, and salubrious portions of Italy—teeming with an intelligent population, who, without boasting may safely challenge the world for a greater degree of public spirit and enterprise—the beauty of the surrounding country—its undulated prairies and groves of valuable timber through which the Picatonica winds its serpentine course to join the 'Father of Waters'—the unequalled facilities for railroad communications, and many other considerations induced us to 'pitch our tent here,' and claim Freeport as our future home."

Carpenter, judging from the style of his editorials, was rather a humorous sort of a fellow, and occasionally he tells a joke to pretty good advantage.

Carpenter continued to publish the Democrat until in October, 1850, when Mr. J. O. P. Burnside, the present editor and proprietor of the Freeport Bulletin, took charge of the paper. Mr. Burnside sold out in the spring of 1852 to Mr. George Ordway. Mr. Ordway published the paper about a year and then sold the concern back again into the hands of Mr. Burnside who sold out the old type of the office, discontinued the Democrat, and in July, 1853, started the "Bulletin" in its stead. The latter paper has now a very extensive circulation and its prospects for the future are bright. The Freeport Journal was started

by Messrs. H. G. Grattan and A. McFadden. This was also a very extensive circulation and a constantly increasing patronage. Mr. Grattan left Freeport some years since and is now the editor of the Mount Carroll Republican. After Grattan withdrew the paper was for some time conducted by Messrs. A. McFadden and H. M. Sheetz. McFadden and Sheetz in the spring of 1853 dissolved partnership and the Journal is now published and edited by Mr. Sheetz. Mr. McFadden is at present editor of the Whiteside Investigator. A German paper has been started in the town within the past year, by Rev. William Wagner, called the Deutscher Anzieger. It is already rather extensively circulated and the constant immigration of Germans into the surrounding country will contribute greatly to its success.

In one of the numbers of the Prairie Democrat for June 27th, 1849, we find a list of the merchants and grocers in the town, and as some may be curious to know how extensive our business directory then was we give the names as they come in order.

In June, 1849, the merchants, etc., were:

Dealers in dry goods, etc.—F. A. Strockey, C. Waterman, D. A. Knowlton, L. W. Guiteau, S. D. Knight & Co., O. H. Wright, E. H. Hyde.

Boots, shoes, hats and caps—Jacobs.

Groceries, Medicines, etc.—Emmert & Bastress.

Dry Goods, Medicines, etc—Mease & Co.

Groceries and liquors—W. D. Oyler, J. Montgomery, P. Fowler.

Family provisions, groceries, etc.—T. & J. Oyler, Capt. J. R. Swift.

Such was the business directory of Freeport in 1849.

The first church in the town was the First Presbyterian. This was completed early in the fall of 1849. Since that time seven others have been erected.

In 1850 the population of the town was 1436, of this number 352 were foreigners, mostly Germans. The German proportion of the population is now much larger.

The advance of our town is strongly exhibited in the changes in the value of property within and around it. The value of town lots and land contiguous to the town has risen to be about double value in the last two years. And these rises seem well sustained, we hear of no failures among our business men. All seem to be doing a profitable business and sharing in the general prosperity of the country. Since the completion of the railroad from Chicago to this place business has received an impetus far stronger than was apprehended by the most sanguine.

Since the first reverberation of the whistle of the iron steed sounded through the town, on week days all is hurry and bustle. The streets are crowded with farmers selling off the crops of the last year which seem in a measure inexhaustible. The stores and groceries are thronged with customers, the hotels are crowded so full of travelers that it is sometimes difficult to find a place to lodge. Dwelling houses are going up with astonishing rapidity and still the supply is inadequate to the demand so great is the rush of emmigration into our county.

We are not certain of the number of buildings that have been erected here during the past year, and cannot consequently show the full extent of our improvements. Many of the buildings erected during last summer are superior to any heretofore erected. A great deal of building has been going on around the depot grounds. Nine or ten warehouses have been built. The warehouse erected by the Messrs. Hunt is one of the finest buildings in Freeport. It is of brick with appropriate stone trimmings. The Exchange block on Stephenson street affords another striking evidence of the march of improvement within the last year. The buildings in this block are also of brick, three stories high. The rooms on the first floor are all occupied with stores. The apartments above are law offices, daguerrean rooms, concert rooms, etc.

The "Promenade House", at the corner of Adams and Stephenson streets, a new hotel erected by C. Baumgarten, is also an edifice which is creditable to Freeport builders.

The coming year promises to far outstrip the last in improvement. A fine new building for a bank will soon be erected by J. Mitchell & Co., on the corner of Stephenson and Chicago streets, immediately opposite the "Stephenson House." And E. H. Hyde, of the firm of Hyde & Brewster, ever among the first in enterprise and public spirit, has commenced the erection of a splendid brick store on the site of his old store on the southeast corner of the public square. This building will be three stories high, and it is the design of the proprietor to make the third story about fifteen or sixteen feet high and fit it up for use as a Town Hall. Such a room is at present a desideratum in our town and doubtless all our citizens will be glad to see Mr. Hyde's plan carried out. Hon. S. B. Farwell, we understand, designs erecting a magnifisent set of buildings on the south side of the public square. And our energetic citizen, E. W. Salsbury, is busily engaged in making improvements which will add to the good appearance of the west side of the square. Dr. C. Martin is also about building a fine house on Stephenson street, immediately adjoining the store of S. D. Knight. C. Baumgarten is about erecting a new warehouse, 100 feet by 120, and four stories high.

Among the projects of the coming year is a large and fashionable hotel. Dwelling houses are going up in and around the town with astonishing rapidity, and they were never in greater demand here than at present. Rents are high, and those who build houses to let make a very profitable investment.

To give some idea of the business of the town we will give briefly a few statistics, etc.

There are now in Freeport about sixteen or seventeen dry goods stores which do an extensive business. There are five clothing stores, four hardware stores, five drug stores, about twenty groceries, two bakeries, three or four millinery and lace stores, one leather store, one book store, a magazine and news depot, six hotels, two exchange and banking houses, seven or eight tailor shops, three jeweler shops, four saddle and harness shops, eight or nine boot and shoe shops, some five or six lumber yards, four cabinet shops, nine blacksmith shops, four

or five carriage and wagon shops, a gunsmith, a locksmith, a marble yard, a turning lathe, two iron foundries, one sash factory and planing mill, one plow factory, three meat markets, two flouring mills, two saw mills, two extensive nurseries.

The legal profession has a pretty large representation in Freeport. There are at present sixteen attorneys residing here. There are about the same number of physicians, but we are happy to say that the whole corps are not kept very busily employed.

The educational advantages are good and constantly becoming more favorable. There is a fine school building in which a union school is kept, capable of accommodating from three to four hundred pupils.

There is also an academy which was started during the past year and which is now flourishing finely. Besides these there are a few select schools.

We have mentioned that there were eight churches in the town, they are of the following denominations: Baptist, Methodist, Old School Presbyterian, New School Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Roman Catholic, Lutheran, German Methodist.

The value of the property in Freeport as assessed was in 1851, $271,380; in 1852, $374,225, and in 1853, $561,464, and the next assessment will far exceed any previous valuation.

The population of Freeport about a year ago, before the opening of the railroad west of Rockford was nearly three thousand. At the present time we have a population of from three to four thousand, and ere two years have elapsed it will probably be doubled.

The following statement which is taken from the Freeport Weekly Bulletin, of March 2d, 1854, will convey to the reader some idea of the amount of the exports of produce from this place for the time herein mentioned.

THE TRADE OF FREEPORT.

Shipments of Produce from Freeport by the G. & C. U. R. R. from September 2d, 1853, to March 1st, 1854, and estimated amount on hand ready for shipping March 1st.

We have prepared for this issue of the Bulletin a correct statement of all the produce shipped east from this place from the opening of the G. & C. U. R. R. up to the first day of this month, and it is with no small degree of pride that we are enabled to present so favorable a report for the consideration of the public. We say correct because we have taken great pains to get it correctly, copying carefully from the book of shipments kept in the Railroad office.

	Shipped			Shipped	
Pork	2,106,651	lbs.	Green do	12,328	lbs.
Lard,	36,026	lbs.	Oil Cake	78,340	lbs.
Wheat	209,101	bu.	Grass Seed	40,700	lbs.
Oats	89,695	bu.	Flour in Sacks	58,920	lbs.
Barley	37,769	bu.	Buckwheat Flour	5,250	lbs.
Rye	12,304	bu.	Corn	18,797	bu.
Dry Hides	93,037	lbs.	Flax Seed	831	bu.

	Shipped		Shipped
Beans	3,376 bu.	Ginseng	1,550 lbs.
Clover Seed	831 bu.	Tallow	2,335 lbs.
Onions	429 bu.	Butter	69,487 lbs.
Flour	1,850 bbls.	Poultry and Game	41,900 lbs.
Beef	25 bbls.	Live Hogs	1,635 head
High Wines	440 bbls.	Live Cattle	64 head
Whiskey	280 bbls.	Live Sheep	65 head
Oil	88 bbls.	Eggs	107 bbls.
Lead	676,763 lbs.	Venison	1,630 lbs.
Wool	8,031 lbs.		

In addition to the above amounts shipped, there was on hand in warehouses ready for shipment on the 1st of March, 32,150 bushels of Wheat; 53,575 bushels of Oats; 3,300 bushels of Barley; 2,360 bushels of Rye; 12,400 bushels of Corn.

We ask our eastern friends, who think we live almost in a wilderness as far as Stephenson county, to look at the above figures and take into consideration at the same time that in addition to our exports a large home consumption demand on our public works, and in our towns and villages has been supplied; and also that not more than one-fourth of the tillable land in this region is under cultivation, and further that there are at least four or five depots on the Railroad in this county at which large amounts of produce have been shipped of which we have no account in the above table, and still further besides the amount shipped since the 2d day of September last and the amount now on hand in Freeport ready for shipping that the country is yet full of grain of all kinds, and will not be all shipped much before another harvest is ready to be reaped. Think of all these things (which are facts,) and then tell us what your opinion of Old Stephenson county and Northern Illinois in general is. Stephenson county is one of the richest spots in the Garden State—the products of the soil spring forth almost spontaneously—we have a cash market right at our doors—our farmers are fat and wealthy, and have nothing to regret and nothing to trouble them except it is that some of their eastern friends are so foolish as to not emigrate immediately to Northern Illinois.

In giving the foregoing sketches to the public, the object was, not only to preserve the memory of the deeds of those brave pioneers who came on in the vanguard of civilization and literally "caused the wilderness to blossom as the rose," but also to convey to the minds of strangers a correct notion of the growth of this section of country, and its numberless resources, many of which have yet to be developed.

A false impression has been made on the minds of many in relation to this country; and a proper regard to justice should make every honest man, who sees things as they really are, anxious to scatter all those erroneous views which may exist in relation to it.

And it was the opinion of the writer, that by giving a short statement of the growth and prosperity of an inland county, which borders on no lake or navigable stream; and which, until the last year, had no Railroad within its limits; more might be done to dispel existing preju-

dices, than could be accomplished by describing the rapid rise and astonishing progress of such cities as Chicago and St. Louis.

Travelers who desire to see the real condition of the nations they visit, do not confine themselves to taking notes in the streets of crowded cities, or in the neighborhood of magnificent castles and palaces, but far away from the din of the metropolis in the more secluded hamlets and market towns they can form a better notion of the habits and condition of the common mass of the people. Paris and London are both widely celebrated for their wealth, population, trade, &c, and a description of all that is interesting and grand in either would occupy volumes, but let an honest farmer emigrate to either England or France on the strength of such a glowing description, and among the peasantry or Auvergne or Yorkshire he will find but little of that richness and dazzling splendor which constitutes the attraction of the Boulevards or St. James' Park.

The majority of those who set their faces towards the West are farmers, men who seek for a country home for themselves and families, and these are generally more interested in what relates to rural life than the growth of cities. The nature of the soil and climate, the distance from a good market, the character of the people with whom they will be called on to associate, the opportunities for educating their children, and the facilities for holding religious worship, concerning these things they are for the most part anxious.

In regard to the soil of the northern counties of this State we make the following short extract from an account of "Chicago and her Railroads" published by the Democratic Press, of that city, speaking of the Galena & Chicago Union Railroad the writer says:

"As this article will be read by thousands who never saw the beautiful country through which it runs, it will not be superfluous to add that it passes through a rich and most beautiful portion of our State. We hazard nothing in saying that the soil for twenty miles on each side of the road throughout its whole length is on an average better than that of the gardens in any of our New England or Middle States. Certainly with proper Yankee cultivation it could be made to produce more abundantly. The same remark will apply with equal truth to all the remainder of the list, round to the great Illinois Central.—Need it be wondered that the Galena Road pays?—"

And we think we hazard nothing in saying that for the distance of 121 miles which this road runs from Chicago to Freeport it nowhere runs through as good a farming country as in Stephenson County.—And it may as well be stated that the best of the land is not on the direct line of the road through any of the northern counties.

As the traveller comes west from Chicago he will find but little in the general appearance of the country on the line of the road, that is inviting until he approaches Elgin on Fox River. When he reaches Marengo and is conveyed through the centre of Garden Prairie he begins to see some of the loveliest portions of the western country and as he passes by the flourishing town of Belvidere in Boone County and the City of Rockford on Rock river his admiration of "Prairie Land" will in no wise be diminished. The face of the country is a little

more uneven and the soil is generally allowed to be richer between Rock River and the Mississippi than in the counties lying in the direction of Lake Michigan. Throughout our county the land is sufficiently rolling to make the prospect diversified without being detrimental to agriculture.

The soil seems well adapted for almost every kind of grain or fruit which usually grow in these northern latitudes, and is so rich that few farmers have as yet begun to think of rotating crops to rest the land. The same piece is plowed year after year, and frequently the same kind of crop is raised for many years in succession and no diminution perceptible in the quantity of the crop.

The capacity of the soil for absorbing and retaining moisture is astonishing. After a rain so heavy as almost to threaten an inundation it requires but a few hours of sunshine to make the surface of the ground so dry that the farmer can resume his labor. And then again in the summer drought when the vegetation on the slaty hill sides of some of the Eastern States becomes scorched and withered, the wide rolling prairies look green as emerald and the crops fresh and vigorous.

Our farmers are now beginning to pay considerable attention to the raising of stock and as abundant facilities are afforded for this, it must ultimately become a very extensive business. At present the pasturage of a drove of cattle costs little more than the trouble of occasionally watching them, and a mowing Machine very speedily cuts down sufficient grass for their fodder in winter.

Much has been said about the unhealthy climate of Illinois. And doubtless many an emigrant has been deterred from moving here by the doleful tidings of whole villages shaking with fever and ague, and whole families dying for want of attendants during their sickness.—And it must be admitted that while the country was new, there was here as elsewhere considerable sickness. But of late years we are inclined to think that the average amount of deaths in Northern Illinois do not exceed the most healthy portions of the Union. It is true that people die here as elsewhere, sin and pain, sickness and death are all here, but still it is the firm belief of the writer that Northern Illinois, Southern Wisconsin, part of Iowa and Minnesota, are about as healthy as any other part of the United States.

Of the Southern portion of this State the writer knows nothing by actual observation, but the probability is, that the inhabitants are more liable to ague and fever than with us. Even here in some of the secluded ravines and marshy places there may be a liability to such distempers, but the writer has never yet seen but one or two cases of fever and ague in the west.

As we have already shown in the course of our narrative, our marketing facilities are now good and every day becoming more flattering. So long as our principal outlet is towards the east, farmers on the Atlantic sea board have an advantage, which would be fatal to our western farmers were it not that their land produces extra crops sufficient to pay for transportation, but when commerce and manufactures shall receive the same attention at the South as at the East—as is the hope and expectations of all good citizens, then we have the advantage.

Communications can be had with the east by the Lakes, Canals, and many different Railways; to the Gulf of Mexico and thence to the West Indies and Central America channels of intercourse will be opened up by means of the great Mississippi, Southern Railroads &c., and last, but not least when the great Pacific Railway is completed a new market is opened on the Pacific coast and the fertile plains of the great west may supply bread to the inhabitants of China and Japan. In view then of the richness of the soil, of our central position, of our means of outlet either already in operation, or in prospect, what other than a bright future can farmers be led to anticipate?

With regard to the views entertained by some about the degree of intelligence possessed by the early settlers of this State, and the correctness of such opinions we take the following from the History of the late Gov. Ford.

"The towns contained a good deal of intelligence, polish and eloquence. It must not be thought that the people of this new country had just sprung up out of the ground, with no advantages of education and society. They were nearly all of them emigrants from the old States, being often the most intelligent and enterprising population. As such,they were just a slice off the great loaf of the old States. But they were not apt to be so considered by the latest comers. These always imagined that they were come to a land of comparative ignorance, and that they must necessarily be superior to the people already here, until they were convinced to the contrary by finding out that their pretensions had made them ridiculous; and if their pretensions were noticed at all it was only to be laughed at. It was no uncommon thing to find families of these last new comers scattered all over the country, forever complaining of the want of good society; and of the many privations they endured in a new country. These complaints were uttered, not so much because they were true, as to let people know that those who made them, were somebodies where they came from."

How the notion originated it is difficult to say, but it certainly seems to have obtained among many eastern people that the inhabitants of the west are a stupid set of folks. And nothing is more common among a certain class than to suppose that professional men of the lowest order of talent are good enough to send out here. And speaking on this subject Dr. Beecher remarks: "No opinion is more false and fatal than that mediocrity of talent and learning will suffice for the west. That if a minister is a good sort of a man, but somehow does not seem to be popular, and find employment, he had better go to the west. No, let him stay at home, and if among the urgent demands for ministerial labor here, he cannot find employment, let him conclude that he has mistaken his profession."

Many of our young professional gentlemen find to their cost on coming here that the people at large have no lack of shrewdness and vigor of intellect. The people travel more on their vast thoroughfares, see more, and are ever ready to pass a common sense judgment on what they see. Such keenness contrasts strongly with that Rip Van Winkle like dulness which characterizes some people in old towns

who for any practical acquaintance they may have with the different portions of their own country might consider "the visual line that girds them round the world's extreme."

Here, as in most newly settled countries, the people were for a number of years destitute of good educational advantages. The government had, it is true, donated the sixteenth section in each government township for this purpose, and other lands in addition to this, but the price of land being low and the public fund in consequence small, but little benefit was derived from this provision. Besides, the majority of the inhabitants were in destitute circumstances and unable to pay sufficient wages to secure the services of competent teachers. The consequence of this state of things, was the hiring of some teachers whose services were frequently of more damage than benefit, and whose instructions their pupils were often under the necessity of unlearning.

Of late years, however, a radical change has taken place in the method of conducting our common schools. The old hum drum pedagogues who kept school are fast giving way before a more efficient and intelligent class of instructors who pay some attention to the science of teaching, and as the county increases in wealth the people are enabled to give such teachers a sufficient remuneration for their valuable services.

From these circumstances and the very great interest which is now manifested in matters pertaining to education, we think that the common schools of Stephenson County will not long rank behind the Colleges of the people, which are the boast of many of the New England and Eastern States.

The opportunities for attending Public Worship on the Sabbath, were not very favorable during some years subsequent to the first settlement of the county. But in this particular there has also been a great change. Instead of depending for preaching on the occasional supply of an itinerant Missionary, we now see congregations organized and churches built in different portions of the county, and church services are held in both the English and German languages.

There are also some sixty or seventy sabbath schools where from three to four thousand children receive religious instruction on the Sabbath. For the last year or two much attention has been given to this system of Sunday School instruction, and the friends of the cause are making strong exertions to establish them all over the country. There is also a County Bible Society, an Auxiliary branch of the American Bible Society in active operation.

There are also within the limits of the county various societies established for benevolent objects, and mutual benefit—as Temperance societies, Odd Fellows, &c.

Still with all the means of doing good we have, there is a wide field open for the services of good and talented men. Especially are teachers and ministers of the Gospel needed, and as the tide of emmigration continues to pour in the demand for their assistance is every day becoming more urgent. That our progress in science, morality

and religion may keep pace with our almost unexampled progress in matters of a pecuniary nature should be the fervent wish of every member of the community, as it is the hope of the writer of the sketches.

Polo, Ills., April 21, 1911.

To Whom It May Concern:

I hereby certify that the foregoing History of Stephenson County is a true and exact copy of William J. Johnston's History as it purports to be. I made it from an original copy of the History, and have carefully compared it with same and find true to the original, even to paragraphing and spelling.

BELLE WENDLE, Typewriter.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 21st day of April, A. D. 1911.

ROBERT M. BRAND, Notary Public.

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